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his friends, too deeply in tune with his mind, to make the meetings dramatically effective. transcript, of his own self-indulgent and self-justifying, which agrees with Brooks' nearly every issue except the transcendence of Christian faith, and even in that respect he is too gentle to resist the use of physical force. They agree about the very things that, the way they were, the stage, the things on a good stage, the relation between gradation and community. They deprecate the violence of the human mind, the abstraction, they share a common admiration for the typical American failure.

The enemy is called Satan, a disposition to lay violent hands upon nature, an acquisitive lust in the object. It is my understanding that Brooks and Whitman accustomed themselves to think of violence in this way, mainly because of Ransom's influence. In *The World's Body* and *God without Thunder* Ransom reflected upon the violence which is an outrage per-

Brooks maintained that the poetic element is revealed not in plot, logic, argument, or the metres, but in the figures of thought and diction, notably in metaphor and simile. The poet's art consists in his selection of metaphors from every experience of other kinds of experience which are possible. Brooks thinks of it as an acknowledgment of the pressure of context.

In *Trony* the mind entertains not only the considerations immediately favourable to its motive, but those which tense and challenge its disposition. Expression which takes account to some extent of these things, rather than naive or sentimental, makes achievement possible. Brooks has quoted in his favour the distinction made able in Santayana and I. A. Richards between unity by inclusion and unity by exclusion. Santayana's *The Sense of Beauty*, and Richards' *Principles of Literary Criticism* are regularly invoked. The latter seems especially important, for it is concerned with formality and function.

This joy, because it must be
 taken in the moment, is a feeling
 of the hands and feet, and
 of the artist, but with his
 eyes he enters upon a sublime,
 sorrowful contemplation of the
 great irremediable things.

This sentence means a great deal,
 to Kropotkin, and it comes into his
 conversation with Mr. Warren. I am
 sure Professor Olmsted will find
 an outrage because it puts the reader
 into a mood in which he would
 reject the "irremediable" things
 except the universal and somehow
 beautiful, he has no offer to
 do anything to remedy, they will
 claim Simpson found some of this
 feeling in Gray's "Elegy in a Court-
 yard," against the Graves. The charges
 are conservative, but they
 make knowledge and action discon-
 tinuous. I cannot recall any occa-
 sion on which Brooks has answered
 his own poetry, but his defence
 is that, although in the "Whisper on

workplace. Some implications of the article call for examination: the political and social stance, the literary and critical stance. But perhaps the crucial question turns on his assumption that the true nature of the poetic imagination is a mixture of irony. It is ironic, because the literature of literature is the literature that which makes it clear that there is something else, is not so common to argue. Brooks does, that there is a particularly intimate relation between the measures of thought and speech. This suggestion seems to me the most challenging part of Brooks's work, and it surprised that it is not more so. Some readers hold that in his later work, notably in his book on Paul Celan, Brooks has gone beyond the strategies and battle cries of the New Criticism. The later work does not have the same religious and moral assurance. Of the *Well-Wrought Urn*, he says, but it would be foolish to think that the early questionnaires had not been asked and answered. The answer is, of course, that it is

[illegible]

The last story of the book, "The Poet," is a semi-mythical story of the life of Gautier's friend Alfred de Nerval, which evokes the opening paragraphs of the story down when his body was hanging in the rue de la Lanterne: "a place frequented by a crowd of people who used to gape ominously about, seeming to look like the yavens in Edgar Allan Poe's 'Never, oh! nevermore!'" Nerval, shadow often falls across the stories. "The Poet" placed together over a period of twelve years, Gautier's memorial to his friend whose "memorial" to him was eventually unendurable. In his wayward, mad, and Gothic vision, we are reminded of Gautier's own

"Picnic with Moonlight and
goes" a painful, trag-
ic about humiliation, Sri Prakesh
pended from his post in the
Gerty of Telecommunications

In Deborah Field's and
Tedeschi's *Solemn High*
(1986), Peter Davies,
High Anglican in down-
town Providence, an oblique
muck that she has never
the lured of the clergy. The
allowing enough as obsequy
Reverend Simpson, the
pleasure, and the events
and the events that they
in are interesting, too,
her upwards. The book
plored, but it is a chal-
lenger, but it is a chal-
lenger, but it is a chal-

The husband and wife, years ago, Kate said to Rossetti, he said to me, my husband, went to Kate's Phil. Shortly after, the arrival of the children appear and, are eventually covered being exhibited at a new fair as the Dwarf, The Acrobat, The Parity, and hugely enjoyed experience. They are brought to the novel most to the film, the cav, the dullness, made a shrine to their god & Somewhere in this book one a message is suggesting to for universal truth? The moral, the immortality of science? What is it, it is irretrievably lost in the appears amalgam of the Gothic the modern.

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The Sussex imprint

By Asa Briggs

All new countries are said to want nuclear reactors. Not all new universities want their own presses. If they did, we would quickly need a non-proliferation treaty. Sussex, founded in 1961, was the kind of new university which wanted everything, but when it first discussed the idea of the Sussex University Press it was curiously not with a view to acquiring a new status symbol. A highly sophisticated academic community with strong international connections felt that it needed an outlet of its own for books and other published materials which had a distinctive Sussex imprint. The curriculum was distinctive. So, too, was a cluster of research centres and institutes, most of them concerned with the contemporary world. Much stress was laid in the early discussions on "other published materials". Sussex courses and Sussex research projects were often genuinely interdisciplinary, and little was available to start or to sustain them from other publishers' lists. There were pressures, therefore, from inside the university, pressures which grew as the number of academics rose from nine in 1961 to 450 ten years later.

At the same time, the university proceeded very cautiously—largely for financial reasons—and there was no initial manifesto. There were three main preoccupations: that of finding a partner or partners in the publishing world; that of interesting the relatively small but highly distinguished circle of Sussex academics whose names already figured on many other publishers' lists; and that of mobilising support in the sciences as well as in the humanities.

All three preoccupations took up a great deal of time, but in each case what were felt to be satisfactory solutions were reached. Chatto and Windus became the "Furners"—the term is used to describe all Sussex University Press imprints—add a new company was incorporated on December 31, 1970.

One of the first books on the first list was David Daiches's *A Third World*, the sequel to his autobiographical *Two Worlds* which told of his Jewish childhood and his life in Edinburgh, and there are few people in any university on either side of the Atlantic who have not read it. It was a book which was as much a publisher's list as a theoretical physicist, R. J. Blin-Stoyle, and physicists were at least as interested in the whole venture as historians or economists.

The first list appeared in the autumn of 1971 on the occasion of the university's tenth anniversary. Some of the first books on it were the products of the university's institutes and centres. This alongside Professor Daiches's private *Third World* the Institute of Development Studies offered two volumes on the "crisis in planning", the subject of a 1969 conference at Sussex where the *Third World* was present in strength. A number of books on this and later lists were the products of the Columbian Centre which dealt in genuinely interdisciplinary fashion with real-world problems in social pathology. *The Dilemma of Europe's Growth* was one of the first books on the list along with *Licensed Mass Murder: A Socio-Psychological Study of Some S.S. Killers*. This series was produced jointly not with Chatto and Windus but with Heinemann. The editor, Norman Cohn, published in 1975 one of the most successful so far of all the books—*Europe's Inner Demons*. He, too, was an author with an international reputation.

The meetings of the partners or different in style, if not in content, from those of seasoned boards and delegations, but the quest for publications inside and outside the university, the evaluation of submissions, the editing and the detailed analysis of the accounts—afforded few

opportunities for radically different approaches. Being *Europe's Liberation and the Aims of Science* was a radical book, however, which has received as much attention in Latin America as in Britain, and Anthony Nutall's *A Common Sky* was the kind of philosophical-literary study which could scarcely have appeared at all without the impulse to such studies which the Sussex curriculum presented and still presents. One book by John Fielden and G. Lockwood, the latter the university's registrar, *Planning and Management in Universities*, has its origins also in specific Sussex experience.

It is perhaps this drawing upon experience which has most distinguished the Sussex University Press, although the Sussex in the title has come to refer not only to the university but to the county. When the university acquired Virginia Woolf's house at nearby Rodmell, Sussex, it also acquired a collection of Woolf papers, and the most recent book to bear the imprint of the press, *Moments of Being*, edited by Jeanne Schulkind, consists of a fascinating collection of Virginia Woolf's unpublished autobiographical writings. The Woolf estate, which devours the output of foreign publishers, doubt if there is any similar place where the inputs are so great. The press is run separately at Sussex, and there is no sense of a press establishment. Yet there may be scope for quite separate forms of local enterprise. One of the most interesting new Sussex publishing houses, the Harvester Press, was created by one of Sussex's first graduates.

The economics of the press require very careful scrutiny. Fortunately the university's planning committee has allowed the press, like other devoted units in the university, a very substantial degree of freedom to manage its own affairs, including its finances, over a period longer than a year. One

Kitty prepares for her wedding: a wood engraving produced by N. K. Piskarev in 1932 for a Russian edition of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. The illustration is included in the British Library's richly illustrated *Tolstoy* exhibition at the British Museum (until August 30), which contains mainly of material from the Tolstoy Museum in Moscow and of personal possessions from Yasnaya Polyana, Tolstoy's country estate. This is a fascinating group of exhibits related to Tolstoy's six weeks in London in 1861, when he was little known outside Russia.

tional links as strong as they might be. Sussex has a lively school of European Studies which devours the output of foreign publishers, doubt if there is any similar place where the inputs are so great. The press is run separately at Sussex, and there is no sense of a press establishment. Yet there may be scope for quite separate forms of local enterprise. One of the most interesting new Sussex publishing houses, the Harvester Press, was created by one of Sussex's first graduates.

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Defensive harmonies

By Helen Vendler

HAROLD BLOOM:
Poetry and Repression
Revisionism from Blake to Stevens
236pp. Yale University Press. £7.20.

This book completes Harold Bloom's essays begun in *The Anxiety of Influence*, and continued in *A Map of Misreading* and *Kabbalah and Criticism*, to map out a functional poetics of the lyric. While criticism of drama, and, by filiation, of the novel, must depart from Aristotle, criticism of lyric has no such indisputable foundation. The terms in which the lyric has conventionally been discussed are borrowed, the most unsatisfactorily, from the rhetoric invented to describe oratory, an art entirely different from lyric in conception, in purpose, and in effect. And it remains true that the figures of rhetoric, while they may be thought to appear in a more concentrated form in lyric, seem equally at home in narrative and expository writing. Nothing in the figures of paradox, or irony, or metaphor, or imagery—or in the generic conventions of, say, the elegy—specifies a basis in verse.

Consequently, there has been a good deal of difficulty in knowing what it is proper to say about a lyric poem beyond what can be said about human imaginative expression in general. In desperation, incompetent commentators have assumed the most salient characteristics of the conventional lyric—its phonetic and metrical ground plans—singling out these aspects as the "form" of the lyric, while treating its "content" under various historical, critical, or metaphysical heads. The true generic history of the English lyric, and a corresponding history of essential distinguishing features of lyric expression, remain to be written.

It has always been recognized, in commentary on literature in general and the lyric in particular, that

authors draw on other authors. The extent of such borrowing varies, and its function remains a matter of debate. Students are told that classical "conventions" in poetry were revived in the Renaissance, that they were revived in the Augustan Age; that they were revived by the Romantics; that they were revived by Pound and others in the modern era. But these are descriptive statements, not functional ones.

A functional history of a poem would explain why certain conventions appeared suitable to the poet for use in this poem, why such modifications of the conventions as appear were made, how the various conventions appearing in the poem functioned, with respect to each other and with respect to the tradition from which they were drawn, and the meaning of the sequence of conventional elements in the poem. This is a daunting task to assume for even one poem, and it is generally avoided (in favour of moral summary) except by the most acute, learned, and hardworking critics, whose pages pose these perpetual questions, and at least attempt some answers.

Questions about the function of traditional elements in a poem cannot occur unless the reader agrees that every word or element used is a choice against another word or element, and that to include A means the exclusion of B and C. This is a daunting task to assume for even one poem, and it is generally avoided (in favour of moral summary) except by the most acute, learned, and hardworking critics, whose pages pose these perpetual questions, and at least attempt some answers.

Professor Bloom's terrarium has addressed itself to these questions of critical responsibility. The four books are aimed at an audience

which has read most of the canon of English and American lyric, and which remembers most of what it has read, so that no echos will be missed. I am willing to grant all the objections to Professor Bloom's highly coloured prose, which Christopher Ricks has recently labelled "melodramatic", and also the objections which have been made to the rapid proliferation of Bloom's terminology. By my rough count there are now fifty or so terms Bloom is using in his "maps" of poetic process and product. Some of these are old (presence versus absence, fullness versus emptiness), some new (Anna Freud's mechanisms of defence, conflated for convenience into Bloom's magic total of six), some

borrowed (from rhetoric, mainly via Kenneth Burke), and some Bloomian (the original six "revisionary ratios" named in "Gnostic exuberance"—Bloom's own phrase for the spirit behind his coinages—*clinamen, tessera, kenosis, daemoneization, askesis, and apophrades*). Later additions include Hebrew importations from the Torah and Kabbalah, including those naming a sixfold process in "The Prime Scene of Instruction" (*alahab, chesed, ruach, duvhar, lidrash, and revisionism proper*) and a threefold process of cosmic creation (*zimmun, sheviruth, hukelium, and tikkun*).

These are indeed strange bedfellows to poetry in English. But it will

Sleep-Talker

In the early hours of the puny day

Whose eyes still swim with dark

She slowly and quietly spoke,

But not to me.

The man she spoke to was handsome—

She told him so—

I felt bound, on principle,

To disagree

But, in fact, I could not know

Since she was deep in sleep,

So whomever she was speaking to

I was unable to see.

It was in the cold hours before the sky

Had paled at all, that time

When the old and tired and unwanted

So often and so quietly die.

Vernon Scannell

he remembered that Bloom has always wanted a theology to support his literary theory, from his initial use of Martin Buber in his first book to his present wish—understandable to anyone with imaginative hunger or impulse—to see whether we possess other ways of interpreting the cosmos besides our Platonic and Aristotelian ones. The fantasy-creation (as Bloom allegorizes it) found in the Lurianic Kabbalah, which includes God's initial contraction of himself to make a space for creation, a subsequent disruption of the creation or "breaking of the vessels," and a final "restoration" gives Bloom an imaginative model for what he has chosen to present as the western pattern of Enlightenment lyricism, in which speculation, and her Sixfold, take on a suspicious resemblance to our old acquaintance Hegelianism—Middle and End, even if called by the Bloomian names of Initiation-Substitution-Representation.

In the incessant rhetoric of Bloom's pages, the fifty analytic terms and the fifty or so patron saints of Bloom's critical and poetic canon (ranging from Virgil to Derrida, from Milton to Ammons) play hide and seek, now obscured in dense allusiveness, now rising in Emersonian apriorism.

Bloom's literary model for his chapters, the *Isy-ism*, implies that his aim is to win converts to his way of seeing poetry. Though his terminology will not, I expect, be widely adopted, his notions are already exerting powerful influence (and even consequent anxiety, to judge by reviews). Because of Bloom, we can never again regard quite so complacently "an allusion to" an earlier poet, nor can we speak of the appearance of "Miltonic" or "Keatsian" diction in a later poem without being put on our guard. Such interpretive echoes result, as Bloom has conclusively shown, from the many ways in which a poet manifests his struggle with antecedent style—a struggle which is varied, serious, continued, protracted, and profound, caused by the equal pressures of the apprentice's love (Keats's "Shakespeare and the Paradise Lost every day become greater wonders to me") and the adult poet's self-assertion (Keats's remark on Milton, "Life

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night time. On the other hand, un-
like other media whose
audiences attend in privacy—books,
Hearst, gramophone records—
broadcasting demands that its
audience attend at a time and place
determined by a producer. There is
no chance to skip or consider, no
means of skipping just familiar
pages. Both these issues—div-
ided audience, centralized con-
trol of reception—make the com-
mon equation of television with
popular culture pernicious and mis-
leading. Commercial television is no
more a popular culture than Ken-
ucky Fried Chicken is a local
cuisine. A lot of people consume
both, but both are created by
corporate managers and market
researchers, not by indigenous
craftsmen and artists giving shape
to local traditions and materials.

There are some alternatives to
commercial television in America,
but their prospects are not en-
couraging. Some excellent broad-
casting on public television is pro-
vided by foundations and listener su-
scriptions. Even here large cor-
porations provide grants which
inevitably have a subtle effect on
the stations' independence, however.
American public television also
finds it cheaper to import British
productions than to build up a
native industry with any merit. This
of course places American public
broadcasters in the same position
as those third-world stations whose
programmes are all made in Holly-
wood, but the irony is hardly a
satisfying one. Another alternative
is cable television, but this is often
merely a variant of commercial
broadcasting. It is sometimes pos-
sible, however, for cable viewers to
pay for the programmes they want
to watch, without the interruption
of advertising. This system of
television on roughly the same eco-
nomic basis as the other arts.
Naturally, the networks and their
allies in the government are deter-
mined that the system will never
get a chance to succeed. The ad-
vertisers fear that the vast audi-
ences of ordinary commercial tele-
vision, audiences whom they gener-
ally hold in contempt, might if
given the opportunity, exercise
sufficient self-respect to prefer to buy
than be bought.

These last three paragraphs take
up themes suggested by Professor
Novak, but he should not be held
responsible. The issue of
Plenty raises almost every impor-
tant issue in modern broadcasting,
but the book is only a vigorous
sketch when compared with the
earlier three-volume history from
which it is abridged. The history
set was published as *A History of
Broadcasting in the United States
Between 1896 and 1970* and is still
available for only twice the price
of the abridgement. Many readers
in America, myself among them,
gave up a night's sleep when each
of the earlier volumes appeared.
Professor Barnouw's style may have
been clumsy (it still is), but his
books were very difficult to put
down. In *Tube of Plenty* far too
many details are lost and the book's
balance seems wavy. (The later
chapters read like a history of the
CIA.) The new version is un-
attractively printed and bound.

Evidently the time has passed when
the world's most distinguished un-
iversity press would have been
admitted to ask \$8.50 for a book
whose pages are not sewn but
glued. The endpapers of my copy
are already partly detached.

For \$8.25 the publishers of *Tele-
vision as a Social Force* provide
sewn pages, not very many of them,
and little else. This unnecessary
little book is a compendium of all
the wrong ways to think about
broadcasting. Its essays derive
from a 1974 workshop on television
held at Aspen, Colorado. It must
have been a dismal affair. Douglas
Cator opens by asking "what has
prevented thinking people from
applying their critical faculties" to
television. To this begged ques-
tion he offers this answer:

In the first place, scientific evi-
dence suggests that thinking
people—at least those over the
age of twenty-five—are left-
brained in development. They
rely predominantly on the left
hemisphere, which controls se-
quential, analytical tasks based
on the use of propositional
thought.

Mr Cator then quotes approvingly
from a book about TV which
speaks of "communication by elec-
tronic speed." This sort of phrase
sounds thrilling until you examine
it. Just how rapid is TV commu-
nication? It takes no less time for
images to reach my eye from the
small screen than it takes for words
to reach me from the printed page,
but this cannot be what Mr Cator
is thinking about. He must be
referring to the speed at which TV
programmes reach my set from the
transmitter—but this factor has no
effect on my perception. Surely
what matters most is the period of
time it takes for a television pro-
gramme to be produced. And it
takes less time for this review to
move from my typewriter to the
readers of the TLS than it takes
for most television programmes to
move from conception through pro-
duction, editing, scheduling and
transmission. Mr Cator, it appears,
is really not thinking about any-
thing at all, and in this book he is
not alone.

The second contributor, Michael
Novak, introduces twelve pages of
tittle with this encouraging note:
"It goes without saying that others
will have to verify the following
observations; they are merely
hypotheses in the hypothetical mode,
if some of the hypotheses have
a cogency that almost bites."

From Mr Novak's toothless
hypotheses we proceed to a biblio-
graphical article which belongs
somewhere else (these are supposed
to be "New Approaches to TV
Criticism"), and then to Benjamin
DeMott, who wonders why networks
and stations have not put
comedies on viewers. A possible
answer to this conundrum may be
found in Michael J. Robinson's
statistical, opinion-analyzing essay,
"American Political Legitimacy in
an Era of Electronic Journalism".
Professor Robinson sets out facts
and figures which, to him, demon-

strate that the recent decline in
the confidence of American citizens
in their government is the result
of the existence of television news.
Not the news that television reports,
but television news in itself. It
seems never to have occurred to
Professor Robinson that there was
a war in Vietnam during the period
he considers, nor did he try out his
questionnaires on anyone outside
the United States. Professor Robin-
son is incidentally not the only
contributor to this book who seems
to take for granted the strange
idea that American television
induces radical political questioning
on the part of its viewers.

The book does include one sober
essay on newspaper news and tele-
vision news, by Paul H. Weaver,
who deserves better company. And
at the back is a list of participants
in the Aspen workshop who did not
contribute papers, apparently. They
include: Rudolph de la Harpe,
Erik Barnouw, Asa Briggs and Wal-
ter Ong. One senses a lost oppor-
tunity here.

If there is nothing to be learned
in Cator-Arter, there is a gold mine
in the unlikely setting of Lorenzo
Milam's scruffy paperback, enga-
gingly but irrelevantly titled *Sex
and Broadcasting* ("My Great Aunt
Beulah convinced me that... the
word Sex in its title would double
its sales and quadruple its reader-
ship"). According to the title page,
the publisher is the Dildo Press;
more practical information may be
found above. Mr Milam is a spiri-
tual descendant of the radio
amateurs who figure in the early
pages of Professor Barnouw's his-
tory, but who seem to have be-
come extinct by the end (Regi-
nald A. Fessenden, for whom Mr
Milam seems to have named his
bank account, was an early
amateur; others were Nathan B.
Stubblefield, Vera Blitch and Amos
Dolbear. "Where do they get
those names?" wonders Lorenzo W.
Milam.)

Mr Milam organizes non-profit
radio stations whose programming
tries to serve local needs for shared
information, while also providing
out-of-the-way music and debate of
a kind found almost nowhere else
in American radio. His costs are
met mostly by local contributions;
large corporations keep their
distance. Canada has an active CBC-
sponsored programme for estab-
lishing community radio, but in the
United States the job has to be done
by devoted amateurs if it is done
at all. Mr Milam probably goes
broke once a year, and the work he
does would destroy a lesser man's
nerves, but he doesn't seem to care.
He wrote his book—and published
it at an absurdly low price—to give
practical advice to anyone who
shares his passion for broadcasting,
anyone mad enough to build a radio

station for love, not money. The
book is firmly grounded in re-
ality—how to fill out forms for
the Federal Communications Com-
mission, how to get an inexpensive
radio out of a volunteer station.
It is also wiser and funnier than
any other book in the field.
What Professor Barnouw achieves
Milam is almost able to achieve
through insight and passion. His
book certainly provides the infor-
mation in which broadcasting is en-
gaged, by both literate and broad-
caster. For all its irrelevances and
diversions, this is a wonderful book.
It deserves a far wider audience
than it is likely to get.

Professor Barnouw's history is
with the triumph of the network,
immovable in their imperial posi-
tion. Upstarts like Mr Milam, with
10-watt transmitters and empty
accounts, will never topple com-
mercial giants. But as they gain
numbers and experience they will
inevitably have an effect even if
they improve their programming to
the non-profit competition. At the
same time, the networks can never
be better than mediocre. Medi-
ocrity would be an improvement
on the present state of affairs.

The state must provide

By W. H. G. Armytage

NIGEL MIDDLETON and SOPHIA
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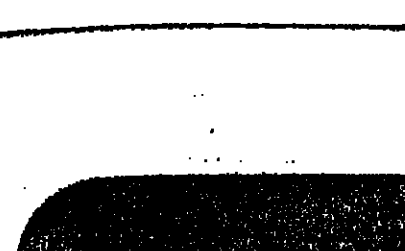
Virginia Woolf once observed that
it was "always a misfortune to
historian to call in the services of any
nation's writers. Because their ex-
planations were 'so much water
poured with the wine' and their
counselors were addressed to 'a
vanished audience which has
learned its lesson and gone its
way'."

The vanished audience that
might have listened to Mr Middle-
ton's extremely explicit coun-
selors was "so much water
poured with the wine" and their
counselors were addressed to "a
vanished audience which has
learned its lesson and gone its
way."

with the years after MacDougall
and Schiller had departed these
shores to reinforce the hereditary
nobility of the United States.
Hobbes, whose insistence (echoed
by his colleagues and pupils) on
the need for "social initiative" to
remove inequalities of environ-
mental provision might well have
served as a text for the stirring
political narrative that is embedded in
Part 2.

Here Nigel Middleton adopts
stances that are evangelical rather
than exegetical, apologetic rather
than appraisive, leading us up to
what he calls "compiling the New
Testament." This "New Testa-
ment" was of course the famous
"Green Book" of June 1944
(reprinted for us in a seventy-
page appendix). Here Sophia Weismann
researches find an expositor who
enthusiasm leads him to end his
chapter with a chapter on "Promis-
land."

But this is the Grey Land of
Consensus where "the find the
"both sides" (i.e. Conservative and
Labour) see educational provision
as a worthy activity. Indeed he
laments that this takes "much of
the sting out of any debate... it is
hard to whip up enthusiasm as
matters of minor reform. Paris
might quarrel with the badness of
his "baddies" (he sees Mornet as
the "evil genius" of British [sic]
Education), but those to whom
the history of education is a sacred
will find his style agnathic; the
well-chosen cartoons especially so.



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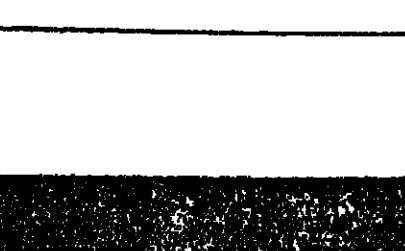
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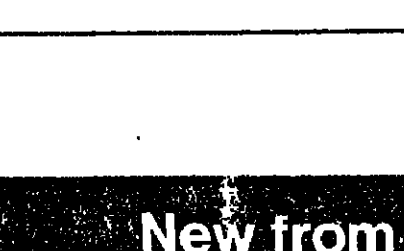
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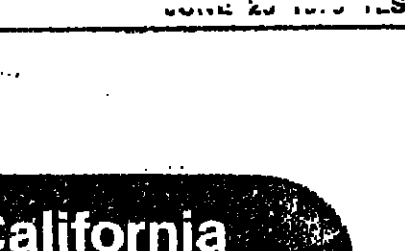
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English at the University of Iowa.
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ISBN 0-87745-068-4. Price not set for cloth or paper.
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The title of David I. Ransel's book has a most unfamiliar ring: *The Politics of Catherine's Russia*. Both pre- and post-revolutionary Russian historians, for different reasons, have tended with few exceptions to concentrate on the social and economic history of Russia at the expense of its political history. It is true that in the eighteenth century, particularly in the eighteenth century, was extremely small, the space within which it could manoeuvre very restricted, and the institutions it could make use of embryonic. Moreover, the evidence, heavily drawn upon to establish the existence of networks of family and patronage and to trace the patterns of allegiances, was and remains extremely limited. Compared with France and above all England, there is little in the way of memoir literature, or solid first or fourth volume "Lives and Letters". The result of this lack of native evidence is that the dispatches of foreign envoys must be drawn upon, and they are frequently unreliable. The dispatches of the Prussian envoys at Catherine's court are particularly interesting since they obtained their information mainly from the hear of Ransel's study, Count Nikita (Ivanovich) Panin himself, who coloured the portrait of his political activity with a most skilful hand, sometimes stressing the plots he had foiled, sometimes lamenting his inability to influence his imperial mistress.

Yet Marxist historians were in duty bound to make the attempt to analyse political conflict in Russia and to relate factional struggles around the throne with its class base in the country. In the case of Catherine, this approach found its most systematic exposition in the 1950s in the various works by the German historian, Georg Sacke, who persisted under the Nazis, and was further developed and extended into the politico-literary field by the Soviet historian G. A. Gukovsky, who perished under Stalin. According to their theories, a group of "liberal" nobles, headed by the tutor to the Grand Duke, Nikita Panin, wished to exploit the weakness of Catherine's claim to the throne to limit the power of the autocrat, by "establishing" an imperial council, and forcing legis-

lative activity into certain procedural channels. Panin himself became, according to this theory, the leader of a "fronde nobiliaire", representing aristocratic pretensions in opposition to the bureaucratic absolutism supported by the bourgeoisie on whom Catherine relied. Having circumvented Panin's designs, Catherine, according to Sacke, turned the tables on her opponent, and attacked their ideology in her famous *Makars*, based largely on Montesquieu, whose theories she perverted to such good effect as to produce an apology for absolutism. This apology she subsequently publicized by means of a legislative assembly, dominated by the bourgeoisie, which she summoned purely to endorse her claim to the throne.

The innumerable fallacies in this ingenious yet very influential theory have been exposed by Professor Ransel elsewhere. In this book he dwells on political conflict within the elite itself, aschewing the effort to "link" it with class antagonisms. In Ransel's view, though Panin did at first attempt to create the kind of institutional limits on autocratic power which would protect the bourgeoisie against the excesses of favouritism, his failure to achieve this aim did not drive him into opposition to the empress. Indeed, once he himself had secured his own power base, when he had been placed in charge of foreign affairs in October 1763, he opposed the establishment of other "conferences" or "councils" which might have implied the sharing of power with other important families. Only after his final dismissal in 1781 did Panin, in Ransel's view, take up again his earlier hopes of setting constitutional limits to autocratic power by means of fundamental laws, in the Duke Paul, or whom the aristocrats of the Panin family and elite were now focused.

Power to the Panins

By Isabel de Madariaga

DAVID I. RANSEL:
The Politics of Catherine's Russia
The Panin Party
327pp. Yale University Press.
£10.50.

Ransel's book is a welcome and novel effort to disentangle the complex personal and political intrigues which surrounded Catherine, and in broad terms his theory is far more convincing than that of Sacke and his school. But there are certain weaknesses in his analysis, the first of which stems from his use of the word "party". Though he is careful to stress that "party" in his context is primarily a network of family and patronage connections, imperceptibly he shifts his ground, and refers to the "Panin party" as united in the pursuit of particular policies. This illustrates the danger of using a political concept anachronistically.

The Panin "party" was neither organized nor united on policies; it was an unstructured agglomeration of relatives (not the whole family) some of whom thought alike, and some of whom did not, surrounded by a fluctuating number of friends, dependents and hangers-on. We have almost no evidence of the views of some of the alleged members of the Panin "party" on many of the issues which they are assumed to be supporting the head of their faction. With regard to self-reform for instance, much is always made of a few critical remarks by Peter Panin in the context of army reform, on the rule of landowners in provoking peasant flight, to other lands. Far more active, however, in this field was Gregory Orlov who encouraged experiments in new forms of land tenure on his own estates. But he is cast as the head of an opposing "party". Was there indeed an Orlov party,

the existence of which Ransel takes for granted? Perhaps briefly in the early 1760s, when the old chancellor A. Bestuzhev-Ryumin, was still intriguing and Catherine's marriage was being discussed, but on this episode was over what did this "party" consist of? Ransel speaks of "the young men around the Orlovs", but who were they and what political or military positions did they occupy?

Finally, was the "Panin party" ever in power? And what does "in power" mean in this context? Nikita Panin was in the government, but had to share the very small number of top positions not with his family and his clients, but with the leaders of other patronage groups, notably the two Chernyshev brothers who from 1764 controlled the College of War and the College of Admiralty respectively, with all the vast patronage in the armed forces which these two bodies were connected with. The Chernyshevs were connected with Panins by marriage—Zachar Chernyshev and Peter Panin had married two sisters. But they were rivals for the College of War and Peter Panin lost. Moreover, are we really certain that foreign affairs were what Nikita Panin wanted? In Catherine's first draft of the memorandum of the imperial council, Nikita Panin is noted as Secretary of State for Internal Affairs. Though his past experience had been in diplomacy, he played a prominent part in the internal affairs of the new regime: it was he who took charge of the arrangements for the custody of the deposed Peter III and cleared up the mess after his murder (and after that of Ivan Antonovich, incidentally); he it was who drafted the first plan for the reform of the Senate. Was he disappointed when Prince A. A. Vyazemsky was appointed Procurator General and de facto Minister of the Interior in April 1764 with all the vast patronage this post commanded?

While the pattern of struggle may have some validity for the very early years of Catherine's reign, the evidence of alignment and composition of various groups and their interaction with particular policies later in the reign. The close links Catherine's every step with the political raising of Panin to the favour of the disposition to which Ransel is forced to play a part in personal intrigues. It is hard to believe that Catherine was planning to be "evened against smallpox" as Ransel suggests that in 1772, after the dismissal of Grigory Orlov, she move clearly designed to move the Empress from the very small number of officers not associated with the Orlovs.

Some of the distortion which Ransel's perspective is the result of an excessive reliance on the dispatches of the Prussian envoy, Panin appears in the centre of all the political struggles, everything hinges on him and both policies and personalities are evaluated exclusively in terms of their relationships to the "Panin party". But there were other patronage groups, just as powerful when the trade union leader, but concealed from the eyes of foreign envoys: one can page the extent of the "power" of a "party" only when it is contrasted with these other factions, in the the procuracy. It is also argued that the Panin group was united mainly by self-interest and a common view on foreign policy, but as Panin held office, he long as he was dismissed did not remain in the "party" by any means. The "party" was composed mainly of relatives of two Kurkins, N. V. Repnin, and with sympathizers in the Moscow Rostovskian circles (Novikov), and down to the composition of the political programme suitable for classic opposition party attitudes. The heir to a throne, of which the eighteenth-century history of France, England and Spain provide such telling examples.

Process, purpose and Ego

By Gertrude Himmelfarb

BEATRICE WEBB:
Our Partnership
Edited by Barbara Drake and Margaret I. Cole. Introduction by George Packer.
543pp. £7.50.

SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB:
Methods of Social Study
Introduction by T. H. Marshall.
263pp. £6.25.
A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain
Introduction by Samuel H. Beer.
363pp. £6.

Beatrice Webb first makes its appearance in *My Apprenticeship* in the form of a "Controversy between the Ego that affirms and the Ego that denies": the affirmative Ego asserting the religious, spiritual, mystical, or moral (the words are used almost interchangeably) "purpose" or end of life, the negative Ego asserting the sufficiency of science for all the moderate "purposes" that are the proper concerns of sociologists and social reformers. From the beginning, the controversy resolved itself, for Beatrice at any rate, in a stalemate, the two Egos presiding over their respective domains, each autonomous, self-sufficient, sovereign.

This is not the way it would have appeared to an outsider. To anyone knowing the Webbs through their writings or political activities, the "scientific" Ego, the Ego governing the "process" of life, must have seemed dominant to an unusually degree. Even those familiar with Beatrice's protestations of belief, her daily prayers and private confessions, might have been tempted to regard them as idiosync-

rasies having no practical bearing on the "partnership" that was so extraordinarily productive. The "Webb firm", as it was known, succeeded in turning out scores of books, helped found a major university (the London School of Economics) and an influential journal (the *New Statesman*), played an important part in the leadership and activities of the Fabian Society, participated in affairs of government at both the local and national levels, lectured, pamphleteered, permeated, schooled, and otherwise exercised an inescapable influence on English intellectual and political life for half a century. There would seem to be little room here for religion of any sort, for any contemplation of ultimate "purpose", indeed for anything that was not purely utilitarian.

The Webbs themselves encouraged this impression by representing themselves in all their public activities as preeminently scientific practitioners of the "science of society". This science was presumed to be both an intellectual and a political instrument, a method of analysis and a prescription for reform. It was this weir of rationality in both senses: the rational understanding of social affairs and the rational ordering of those affairs. The conviction of the essential identity of these two activities, these two modes of rationality, was what sustained the Webbs through the arduous research that went into the ten volumes of the *English Local Government* series, to say nothing of their numerous other writings. Political to their marrow, they did not begrudge the time devoted to scholarship because they regarded that scholarship as essentially utilitarian: the scientific analysis of society was a necessary prelude to the scientific reorganization of society. Every now and then, in the privacy of her diary, Beatrice confessed that they were operating with a double standard, that they were less "honest"

in their political and polemical activities than in their scholarly, "scientific" work. Sometimes she even confessed the suspicion that their political commitments might induce some bias in their scholarship. But she quickly dismissed the latter possibility, and she did not overly trouble herself with the former.

Methods of Social Study was intended as a scientific manual, a summation of everything the Webbs had learned in the course of their own research. It was predicated upon the assumption that whoever pursued interest, beliefs, and prejudices the historian or sociologist might have—and the Webbs took it for granted that he had these in the same measure as all other people—he could be perfectly objective and scientific if only he utilized the correct methods. Critics have mocked the Webbs for their pride in some of these methods: the "art of note-taking", for example, which consisted of the "unfused" recording of the recording of each fact on a separate sheet of paper of uniform size and format. But the Webbs saw nothing trivial in that "art"; indeed they saw it as the very warrant of the scientific enterprise. Because sheets of paper could be shuffled around, arranged and rearranged, they assumed that the facts recorded on those separate sheets had an independence and integrity of their own quite apart from the person of the researcher. Their other prescription for objectivity lay in the concept of the institution. Unlike the usual procedure, which starts with a question to which an answer is sought (the question itself predetermining the selection of facts and thus the answer), the Webbs recommended that the inquiry focus upon an entire institution and examine it without reference to questions or preconceptions. The social scientist would thus follow the example of the natural scientist, who sits down before a specimen and undertakes

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to discover every fact about it, every aspect of its constitution, its nature, and its relations.

But even the *Method* book, for all its naive positivism, ended up by relating the final duty. The final chapter, "The Relation of Science to the Purpose of Life," affirmed the possibility of a science of society and its applicability to the practical affairs of society, but found that that science had "nothing to say of the purpose, either of our own life, or of the universe." Science could tell us how to cure and how to kill, but not whether we ought to cure or kill; the latter question could be answered only in terms of emotions, values, or religious creeds. The book concluded with two quotations, the first from Comte on the need for altruism as the foundation of any moral order, and the second from Whitehead on the need for a religious creed, religion being "a vision of something which stands beyond behind and within the passing flux of immediate things; something which is the ultimate ideal, and the hopeless quest."

This side of the Webbs was not always apparent to contemporaries, not even to many of their friends, who saw their "partnership" as totally ordered and compulsively rational, without any distractions, complications, and confusions of life, lacking children (but this Beatrice regretted), undiverted by any playfulness or caprice. In *The New Machiavelli*, H. G. Wells parodied the couple who found themselves hopelessly irregular and sea cliffs "a great mistake." And he found it difficult to credit the reports of Beatrice's "mysticism." "There is no more mysticism in Beatrice," he assured a friend, "than in a steam engine." But on this matter Wells was quite wrong, for it was precisely her sense of religion that provided the driving force for her engine.

Some of their friends, and most of their biographers, were prepared to grant Beatrice her religion while assuming Sidney to be quite innocent of that eccentricity. But this Beatrice was, to be sure, the more overtly, conventionally religious of

the two. But there is reason to accept her own assurance that Sidney shared her faith, although on a different level. The *Methods*, after all, was a joint work, and if the final chapter had all the earmarks of Beatrice's writing, Sidney seemed to have had no objection to leaving under his name as well. In *The Partnership* Beatrice spelled out their religious differences and their essential similarity:

By religion, I mean the communion of the soul with some righteousness felt to be outside oneself. This may take the conscious form of prayer or the unconscious form of ever-present and persisting aspirations—a faith, a hope and a devotion to a wholly disinterested purpose. It is this unconscious form of religion which lies at the base of all Sidney's activity. He does not pray, as I often do, because he has not acquired so self-conscious a habit. But there is a look in his eyes when he patiently plods on through his own and other people's work, when he unwittingly gives up what other people prize, or when he quietly ignores the spite and prejudice of opponents, that tells of a faith and a hope in the eventual meaning of human life—if not for us, then for those who come after us. He refuses to put his aspiration into words, because he would fear the untruth that might be expressed in those words—he has a dread of being even remotely irrational or superstitious. But for all that, he believes.

In the most minimal sense and in the most "unconscious" form, the Webbs shared a faith that was profoundly altruistic and ascetic. Their altruism was the familiar kind that was directed to humanity at large rather than human beings in particular. And their asceticism was intended as much for others as for themselves. The personal asceticism was all the more remarkable because it was achieved at such effort. The policy of "permeation" required them to permeate incessantly at dinner parties as well as committee meetings. But while they gave and attended to such parties, they were determined not to take pleasure in them—except perhaps as a means of

furthering the cause. In her diaries Beatrice agonized over the rare purchase of a dinner dress and over the suspicion that she was enjoying the company of the great invited of merely using them as a means of picking their brains and exploiting their positions. One of her few vices, as she thought it, was smoking, and she engaged in a constant battle with herself to reduce her daily consumption of cigarettes. Food presented less of a problem since she apparently required very little of it, although even here she was always trying to eliminate this or that from her already austere vegetarian diet. Nor was she more indulgent of others. Dinner parties at the Webbs' (a "political factory," Wells called it) were notoriously frugal and ruthlessly purposeful. Wine was not served, courses were reduced to a minimum, and the food was such as to earn the description "cold mutton." Guests were hurried through their pudding in order to get on with the conversation, and it was understood that no one was to waste time with such civilities as going to the lavatory. (Habitual devious ways of coping with their needs, discussing with each other the merits of different stratagems.)

It would take a George Orwell (who understood the ascetic impulse because he was himself prone to it) to do justice to this aspect of the Webbs, to relish the ludicrous details and at the same time appreciate their import. In one sense the Webbs were truly "new Machiavellians"—hard-headed ("hard-nosed," we would say today), pragmatic, manipulative, scheming. Their Machiavellianism was only a new form of utopianism, a utopianism, like any other, that required a rigid control of human beings, of the material, sexual, and natural passions that might interfere with the plans of the "social engineers." This was the basis of the Webbs' quarrel with Wells. In his espousal of "free love" Wells was not only advocating a degree of freedom that would play havoc with any planned society but also encouraging a "gross physical desire" that would subvert rationality itself. It was not only the excesses of

liberalism that provoked the Webbs. They were almost as impatient with the moderate passions and petty desires of the "average sensual man"—a term they used often and always indignantly. This is why they had no great interest in the extension of the suffrage, whether to men or to women. They were not against the suffrage. Indeed they were for it. But they were not much interested in the cause because it would not solve the problems they wanted to solve the way they wanted to solve them. "We have little faith in the 'average sensual man,'" Beatrice wrote. "We do not believe that he can do much more than describe his grievances, we do not think that he can prescribe the remedies.... We wish to introduce into politics the professional expert—to extend the sphere of government by adding to its enormous advantages of wholesale compulsory management, the advantage of the most skilled entrepreneur."

Nor did they have much more respect for the parliamentary representation of the average man. Beatrice once described the typical member of Parliament as a "foolometer," a device by which the expert could take the measure of the common opinion. Their *Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* (first published in 1920) was largely designed to make the representative more of an expert. The main effect of the constitution would have been to create a new kind of bicameralism: a "political parliament" having jurisdiction over foreign and judicial affairs, and a "social parliament" charged with all social and economic matters. Ostensibly the two houses would be equal in status and distinguished only by their functions. "To use an old slogan of the Socialists," they wrote, "the government of men must be distinguished from the administration of things." But that old slogan, as formulated by Salot Simon, actually was: "The government of men must be replaced by the administration of things." Replaced, not merely distinguished. There can be little doubt that the old slogan was closer to the Webbs' intention. The "social parliament" was to be the domain of the social administrator, the expert who dealt impersonally and objectively with things—institutions, arrangements, processes—rather than with men.

But even the new *Constitution* was inadequate to their aspirations. The ideal of impersonality, which was to be the basis of the new polity, was also to revolutionize human nature, purged of selfishness, materialism, and sensuality—all those things that made up the "average sensual man." It is because of this ideal that one cannot explain the Webbs—neither of the Webbs—in purely secular terms. That one must invoke something like a religious faith, Beatrice's expression of that faith turns out to be suspiciously akin to Manichaeism:

Sometimes I try to discover what is the ideal that moves me. It is not a conception of a rightly organized society; it is not a vision of a perfect man, a Saviour, or a Superman. It is far nearer the thought of an abstract Being, but combining the quality of an always working intellect with an impersonal Love. And when I do think of the future man as I strive to make him in myself and in others, I forecast an impersonality—if I may so express it—perpetually disengaging the material circumstances of the universe by intellectual processes, and, by his emotional faith, casting out all other feelings, all other sensations other than that of intellectual transcendence. I think that ends in death, the root of the hatred, malice and greed that make the life of man a futility.

I cling to the thought that man will only evolve upwards by the subordination of his physical desires and appetites to the intellectual and spiritual side of his nature. Unless this evolution be the purpose of the race, I despair of it. This hope for the extinction of all lower consciousness, faith—I could not struggle on in this purpose, and this purpose constantly recurring battles of the good and evil within one's own nature—and to the persistent endeavour to find the way of escape from the material world.

habits of the mass of men for the Church that would force into one living force all who had this faith, with the discipline and the consolation fitted to support their endeavour.

"Oh for a Church." That was written in 1906. A quarter of a century later the Webbs found the church in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And they found it, not surprisingly, even before the months before that visit. In 1932 Beatrice explained what it was she expected to find there.

What attracts us in Soviet Russia and it is useless to deny that we are prejudiced in its favour, is that its constitution, on the one hand, bears out our Constitution for a Socialist Commonwealth, which on the other, supplies a solid that conception of government which our paper-constitution lacks. The Soviet constitution—secular side of it—almost exactly corresponds to our Constitution; there is the same tripartite of political democracy, vocational organization, and the consumer cooperative movement. And the vocational or Trade Union side is placed in exactly the same position of subordination that we suggested. Also the position of the separately organized co-operatives is similar to ours. There is no damned nonsense about Socialism! But the spiritual & intriguing differences between the live creation of Soviet Russia and the dead body of the Webb constitution is the presence, as the dominant and decisive force, of a religious order: the Communist Party, with its strict discipline, its vows of obedience and poverty. It is the invention of the religious order, as the determining factor of a great nation, that the magnet which attracts us in Russia. Practically, that religion is Communism—the religion of Humanity.

The Soviet Union (or the Webb Image of the Soviet Union) represented the culmination of the old slogan, as formulated by Salot Simon, actually was: "The government of men must be replaced by the administration of things." Replaced, not merely distinguished. There can be little doubt that the old slogan was closer to the Webbs' intention. The "social parliament" was to be the domain of the social administrator, the expert who dealt impersonally and objectively with things—institutions, arrangements, processes—rather than with men.

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Declarations of interdependence

By Archie Turnbull

This weekend, in New Haven, Connecticut, in the background of the annual celebration of the University Presses' 50th anniversary, the American Association of University Presses holds its annual meeting. Yale is not a university press, but it is a publisher. It is too much to hope that from the bicentennial meeting will emerge new initiatives, and a calmer, broader concept of the responsibilities shared by all in the advancement of knowledge?

The circumstances that endangered scholarly publishing in the years after 1970 do not seem to have radically changed for the better. The scholarly book remains at grave risk. The university presses have assuredly improved their efficiency and performance, and their strength is better than weakness. It is less clear that this has been achieved with benefit to those central areas of advanced scholarship at highest risk. But there is, however, a new confidence and the reason is simply that the world of scholarship itself, as author and user of the printed word, has at last recognized that the cost to scholarship of keeping them in being. There may be further skirmishes and casualties yet to come, but the issue is no longer in doubt. In the meantime, there is a breathing space for common sense.

In the United States, Chester Kerr, director of Yale and a leading figure in the governance of the American Association of University Presses, has mounted a national inquiry into every aspect of the printed communication of scholarship. His eventual report will shape the will to form of scholarly publishing in the next decades in the United Kingdom there have been gathering manifestations of alarm at the condition of scholarly publishing. The British Academy convened an informal meeting of the presses; the National Book League sponsored a conference, at which Sir Frederick Dainton, speaking for the universities, recognized the scale of the danger. Mann and Stockman have just published the first part of a report called "Trends in Scholarly Publishing". It is marked "not for citation", but writing as one at the helm, I find its conclusions curiously blind. "As one publisher... put it 'the crisis, if there is one, is more of the crisis for learning than the publishers'." Precisely, which side of what fence is who?

What is now required, in Britain, is more formal discussion between all those who are concerned with the communication of learning: the research councils and the national academies; a cross-section of university libraries; the presses themselves; the appropriate groups from the library, the publishers, and the booksellers' associations. The evidence of the new "Kerr

Report", when available, should be invaluable here.

How on earth did it all happen? For twenty-five years after the war, the publishing of new knowledge was a rapid growth industry, small in terms of GNP, no doubt, but with an importance disproportionate to the tiny institutional earnings. This happened because in America and the United Kingdom alike, higher education was accorded a unique social importance, in the belief that its expansion on egalitarian lines would not merely provide the brainpower for national progress, but also—in Britain this was critical—would help to resolve divisive social and class tensions. University expansion hugely increased both the demand for printed knowledge and the purchasing power of the scholarly book market; from student paperbacks and the rise of the reprint houses, to the journals explosion and multi-volume monographs. As my American colleague once cynically put it to me in the early 1960s: "If Edinburgh has got the telephone yet, bind your local directory in hard cover, call it a psychometric study of a classified urban group, and I will take and sell it." Since he had recently reprinted a costly work on neolithic sturgeon hooks of the middle Volga, I was inclined to believe him.

Scientific and medical publishing offered the highest financial rewards, but it was also possible, throughout the 1960s, to market some thousands of copies of any competent specialist work in the competent specialist work in the slower-selling humanities. Naturally, a price was paid. In that period the overlap between trade and university academic publishing was very considerable. What had once been a preserve of scholarly institutes and a few specialist university presses acquired competitive value in the market-place. There was a substantial flashing of cheque-books, of high advances, and not a few good young scholars were enticed from the arduous task of mastering their disciplines by the encouragement of seeing themselves rather too quickly in print. More to the point, university presses that had carefully nurtured young authors to the stage of first publication (generally an unprofitable enterprise) found that these authors were being attracted by the offer of higher cash rewards to give their next (and probably more profitable) works, to the trade. However, there was room for all who came.

In the United States, this bright vision faded with Vietnam. The sense of national betrayal and failure, identified as failure of leadership, became associated with distrust of intellectual liberalism, with student protest and draft-dodging, and finally with the values of university education itself. The funding of universities was affected.

When President Nixon moved to curb inflation by curtailing federal spending, higher education was a popular option. Cutbacks were particularly severe on libraries, whose purchasing power was not in any case keeping pace with inflation. Since the libraries formed the very heart of the scholarly book market, publishers with heavy investment in specialist scholarship found their budget forecasts badly out.

In the commercial sector there was inevitably a flight from the frontiers of knowledge to the more profitable but intensely competitive territory of college texts. But this was an area which American universities pressed had deliberately left to their trade friends, almost by gentlemen's agreement, and thus readjustment of their publishing programmes were carried out in trading conditions of extreme difficulty. The whole cycle of growth and contraction was well seen in the rise and fall of Richard Abel, the specialist neo-classical house which went bankrupt a year or so back symbolized the end of the dream.

Not all the blame for the shrinking market can of course be attributed to a change in national thinking about higher education, and the consequent financial stringency. Curtis Benjamin of McGraw-Hill produced the now well-known theory of "twiggling", the subdivision of subject areas into sub-units of stable size, so that growth of the unitary field was not paralleled by an equivalent growth in specialist book markets. Others, of whom Ben Russell has latterly become a spokesman, have attributed the contraction, in part, to the growth of unlicensed photocopying, a change in the whole structure of control in the publishing industry, in the post-war period, intensified the pace of the flight from the publication of specialist scholarship.

In 1972 one of the sanest scholarly publishers I know, at that time international scientific publishing firm, wrote to me about the crisis:

A note of gloom: I truly believe we are entering a new Dark Age. A few of our presses will continue to keep alive scientific and scholarly pursuits. The commercial publishers are being swallowed up by vast conglomerates being managed by teams of "scientific managers" who treat books as packages of soap. Every publisher now undertakes a measured by its salability. More and more projects are being turned down which would have been published in scholarship depends increasingly on the willingness of University presses to spend money on keeping scholarship alive. I am convinced that what I say is correct.

I am convinced there has never been a greater need for the viability of creative University presses.

He did not say where the money was to come from.

In Britain, the consequences of the crisis in American scholarly publishing soon made themselves felt. North America represented the largest single export market for British scholarly publishing, and the trade alike were for a time much disinclined to add to their own problems those of "offshore purchases". American bulk orders, in advance of publication, so vital to short-run publishing were, if not lost, substantially reduced in many categories of research. Concurrently, the impact of inflation on publishers' costs and prices, and the tightening of the financial screw on British universities radically affected the buying power of the home market. The consequence was a radical cutback in the level of scholarship, the abandonment of whole established areas of publication, and an increasing reluctance to keep in print works falling below a certain level of annual demand. It was at this point, however, that those in both the United States and Britain for whom the printed word remains the best means of transmitting knowledge and ideas came to recognize that the communication of that knowledge and these ideas is too important to be left to the free play of market forces.

Contraction of the market for specialist scholarly books in America and Britain is spread over the entire range of university disciplines, but is much more severe in some areas than in others. The funding of scientific research, in universities, in research centres, in industrial research and development, provides greater book-purchasing power than the equivalent base in the humanities, even to some extent in the social sciences. Yet student enrolment and staff-student ratios in the central disciplines of the arts faculties are by no means declining, certainly not as fast as the average sales of scholarly monographs. Do scholars in these areas manage to do without books? Or is there a significant decline in the quality of scholarship itself, in these subjects? Of course rising prices are a determining factor, especially for younger scholars with families, but the Clerk of Oxfords, too, faced the same predicament, when book prices were relatively vastly higher than they are today.

In this situation, university presses are generally expected to plan annual programmes so that profit margins from areas such as the technical, scientific and medical (TSM) can sustain research publication in the problem areas. It would dispute this as a business sense, and the analysis of the greater contribution of their positive contribution to life of scholarship itself. It merely highlights the underlying disciplines of the university press, and its communication of knowledge and its communication of knowledge and its communication of knowledge.

Again, given contraction of national markets across a wide range of specialist publication, what of the OPEC countries? Can university presses be expected to offset decline at home by expanding abroad? Of course; though smaller presses have the advantage of relatively low overheads. Yet in at least some of the expanding markets the pressure is for books as teaching tools rather than as research tools. The higher the commercial textbook publisher is relatively greater than for the research publisher, at the research level, the more it tends to be more in the TSM than in the liberal arts. Such a shift may offer a fruitful path for the natural or social sciences, but would scarcely be a brilliant new work in, say, Statius or Nicolas of Cusa!

If the area unserved by research by commercial scholarly publishing is vital to the function of universities, then it must be served by university presses. If, as the plan common sense, that part of the research grant should be specifically earmarked as a contribution to the costs of its subsequent publication. Such earmarked reserves may not in all cases be

needed, but must be available. In Britain this is official anathema, but a change of policy is highly desirable.

Fortunately, there have been some straws in the wind of late. A pamphlet issued in October 1975 by the Department of the Environment on archaeological research, states:

There is accordingly a necessity for subsidy, for publication is vital without the possibility of reasonable circulation. . . . It seems to us that the reason why book-length reports published by commercial firms do not at present qualify for financial aid by the Department lies in a deep-seated but in present circumstances largely unfounded fear of subverting the profits of commercial firms. This type of publication is often commercially or marginally viable. We recommend in particular that support should be extended to the University Presses, whose description as "commercial" is often widely at variance with the facts and with the intention of the Presses. Their collaboration must be realistically sought. . . .

"Interdependence", as that splendid quotation suggests, links commercial publishers and university presses in a shared endeavour. Their work is of course complementary and essentially universal. University presses could not survive a month but for the structures of production and distribution brought into existence and wholly sustained by "the trade". The health of commercial publishing is vital to university presses. Equally, the health of university scholarship is vital to commercial academic publishers. The two areas will always overlap. Is there, perhaps, in that overlap, room for exploration of our common interests?

Frames of reference

By Martin Esslin

University: a powerful place to lure poets free to evolve their own individual prosody. "The Unity of T. S. Eliot's Poetry", dating from as far back as 1955, cogently and persuasively argues that the cyclical of the early Eliot and the mysticism of his later period spring from the same basic attitude of rejection of the sordidness of ordinary life.

Of the places on German topics, three stand out: an introduction to Hölderlin, which though short is most illuminating and above all makes its point through the use of quotations from the poetry in outstandingly convincing translations; an essay on Goethe which supplies the book's title, "Art as Second Nature"; Goethe, and an equally powerful place, Brecht and His Successors.

Mr. Hamburger's discussion of Goethe is a review of Richard Friedenthal's biography—not only helps to dispel the ingrained fear of Goethe as a boring establishment figure by showing the highly modern ambivalence of his attitude; it also manages to convey an idea of Goethe's power as a poet by introducing telling quotations both in the original German and in very adequate translation.

Equally refreshing is Mr. Hamburger's approach to the one German literary figure who does not suffer from neglect in the English-speaking world but rather from a surfeit of ill-informed comment by devotees who know their idol only at second hand as they cannot read him in his own language. Hamburger looks at Brecht as a poet which is his main, and probably his most lasting claim to fame) and succeeds in making his poetic quality apparent in all its originality. And in discussing the work of some of Brecht's successors in East Germany (Gert Günther Reinert, Ernst Bloch, Walter Benjamin, Th. W. Adorno and even Robert Walser).

There are twenty-two pieces in *Art as Second Nature*, some very short, others rather longer. Yet even the most occasional has its value. There is not much deeply informed and sensible comment or criticism about Hölderlin, Rilke, Büchner, Goethe, Günter Grass or Johannes Bobrowski readily available to the English-speaking reader after insight into these important writers; there is thus every justification for a book which puts Michael Hamburger's observations on permanent record.

The Emperor Charles V is said to have observed that a man familiar with two languages had the value of two ordinary men; Michael Hamburger is such a bilingual being; and this makes him an accomplished poet in English—a superb translator and an excellent mediator between two linguistic universes. His command of English poetry is as acute as that of the work of German writers. He is particularly illuminating in two substantial essays on Edwin Muir; the Scottish poet who spent so much of his life in Central Europe and translated Kafka clearly appeals to a bridge-builder between two worlds who started from the opposite shore.

Another item of considerable weight is the essay "On 'Metrical Verse' and 'Free Verse'" which is based on the author's lecture for 1974 at Edinburgh

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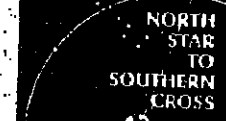
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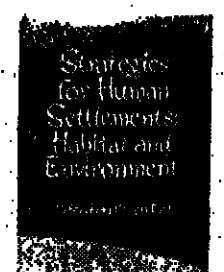
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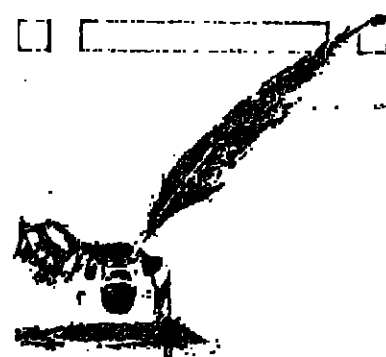


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Marking time behind the lines

By Norman Hampson

JOHN ROBERTS:

Revolution and Improvement: The Western World 1775-1847
290pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £7.95.

Was there an antithesis, at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth, between improvement and revolution, or was revolution merely an expedient to which reformers were sometimes driven in extremis? John Roberts poses the problem in a couple of challenging paragraphs in his introductory chapter, only to leave it, not merely unresolved but unexplored. The most successful revolutionaries of the period were, on the whole, reluctant ones, who were thinking primarily of reform. The American colonists felt themselves driven to a breach with Great Britain that the great majority of them would have preferred to avoid. Robespierre regarded revolutionary crises like those of July 1789 and August 1792 as highly dangerous gambles. Not for nothing did he call his first newspaper "the Defender of the Constitution." He always inclined to prefer political struggles, where defeat was no more than a temporary setback, to violent conflicts in which failure might be definitive. The French "revolutionary" used no word to describe an institution rather than a man.

Nevertheless, the Revolution produced such radical changes and such messianic aspirations that they could not be accommodated within the limited perspectives of "improvement." When the revolutionary tide had turned, the contrast between the memories and ideologies it bequeathed to a new generation and the restored order of 1815 was so brutal, that future radicals came to believe that the gradual and peaceful attainment of their objectives would never be tolerated by those in power. They may well have been right, for 1789 and especially 1793 threw their shadow across the first half of the nineteenth century. It became possible for the first time, at least in continental Europe, to distinguish between those who saw progress in terms of a succession of half-leaves and those who believed that nothing worthwhile could be done until the existing order had been forcibly overturned.

The Romantic movement added a new dimension to those political perspectives, with its glorification of revolt, rejection and defiance of every kind of human and divine authority. What came to seem most important was that purity, the totality of the rejection, rather than the ground actually won: "vous donc, drages d'air!" This had, of course, started with the *Sturm und Drang* before the French Revolution, but its main political consequences were not felt until the fall of Napoleon, himself the least Romantic of hard calculators, before his exile transformed him into a symbol and the focus of many irreconcilable dreams.

Barricades now became symbols, as well as military conveniences, "the republic" an end in itself rather than a particular way of managing things, and revolution a vocation, if not yet a career. Mazzini, with his vision of an Italy transcending in a revolutionary act the petty, selfish, and corrupt politics of the past, spoke for them all. They were to go down in 1848, not merely because they lost the military battles, but because the Romantic ideals themselves were exposed as political phantasms.

There was a subject that no one was better qualified than John Roberts to explore with intelligence and sure judgment. This is what he promises, but instead of a Turner he gives us a photograph. It is a very good photograph; everything is in sharp focus, the picture well balanced, the perspective panoramic and full of attractive detail, but the lighting is rather flat. At times this is a positive advantage. He is at his best when stressing how little, for the majority of the world's population and even for millions of Europeans, anything changed very much in the three

quarters of a century that he studies. This journey runs through the Enlightenment and unlightened despotism, the French and industrial revolutions, Napoleon and the combination of restored institutions and new ideologies that characterized the first half of the new century. It is all done with great expertise and urbanity. He can criticize as well as understand and he has little time for the prudent religiosity of those who tried to annex Christianity as a buttress to social conservatism.

The result is something of a Grand Tour, which no doubt broadens the mind but sends the traveller back home with an album of pictures rather than a sense of

The reduction of Paraguay

By C. R. Boxer

PHILIP CARAMAN:

The Lost Paradise: An Account of the Jesuits in Paraguay 1607-1768
341pp. Sidgwick and Jackson, £5.95.

The story of the Jesuit "Reductions" of Paraguay has exerted a strong fascination on both contemporaries and posterity, interest in that romantic mission rivalling that in the equally entrancing story of the Jesuits in feudal Japan, 1549-1639. Cunningham-Graham's *A Vanished Arcadia* (1901) is deservedly regarded as a classic, not replaced by George O'Neill's *Golden Years on the Paraguay* (1934); and as an introduction to the subject "Don Roberto's" book can still hold its own with Philip Caraman's more detailed and better documented work, *The Lost Paradise*. This author has made good use of the massive works of the Jesuit historians, Pablo Hernández (1908-13), Pablo Pastells (1912-46), and Guillermo Furlong (1933-71), as well as Magnus Möhrner's *Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region: The Habsburg Era* (1955) and a wider range of archival sources than was available to Cunningham-Graham. Their respective conclusions, however, are much the same.

The Jesuit mission-towns or villages known as the Reductions (*Reducciones*) of Paraguay were not the unique phenomena that they are often represented as having been. Early Iberian colonial legislation sanctioned the gathering of Amerindians in permanent mission-settlements, supervised by the Jesuits (or more) priests; and the Jesuits had inaugurated the system in Brazil under the name of *aldeias* soon after their arrival at Bahia in 1549.

The Jesuit province of Paraguay at its greatest extent included not only present-day Paraguay and Uruguay, but the whole of the Argentine and parts of Bolivia and Brazil. The most successful and most famous missions were those among the Guaraní, with a total of some 100,000 people distributed between some thirty mission-stations along and between the Upper Paraná and the Uruguay rivers in the sixteenth century.

By any standards, the Jesuits were astonishingly successful in "educating" or domesticating the most varied Amerindian tribes, ranging from the relatively docile Guaraní to the fierce equestrian Abipones. Where they failed, as with the nomadic Patagons and Pampean Indians south of Buenos Aires, this was chiefly due to the misconduct or folly of the Spanish officials and settlers. Where they were successful, particularly among the Guaraní, this was largely because they received the support of the Crown in keeping the *encomenderos* at arm's length, and in limiting access to the Reductions to responsible individuals.

The Jesuits were often accused of liberalism, keeping their converts in happy ignorance, and of using their

economic theories of the 1770s, the Academy of Arcana. Those who subscribe to no historical faith that can impose a single transcendent pattern on the chaos of the evidence have certain advantages. They have a clearer vision than the believers and are less exposed to the temptation to distort or disregard what ever does not fit. The penalty they pay is a loss of the urgency that goes with the passion to convert. They may well be right, but they have not much to teach us, except intellectual honesty as an end in itself and the past as something to be studied per se, and not as some kind of inspiration to action. Perhaps we cannot honestly aspire to anything more at the moment, but it would not have satisfied the great historians of the past. With all its many merits, this is history that is not going anywhere.

at Mbororé in 1641; the serio-comic imbricatio with Bishop Cárdenas at Asunción in 1642-50; the Guaraní war against the combined Spanish and Portuguese armies in 1753-56; the tragedy of the final suppression in 1768 as a time when the missions were more flourishing than ever; all these and other developments are narrated with sympathy and skill.

For Caraman reminds us that there was often a high proportion of Germans, Flemings, and other non-Spaniards (including a few English and Irish) among the missionaries, particularly in the eighteenth century. He argues that these got on better with the Amerindians than did the Spaniards, who were inevitably associated with the rapacity and arrogance of the *encomenderos*, and the *encomendados*. So that as it may, it is undeniable that two of the best and most sympathetic accounts of the aboriginal tribes were by the Bohemian, Martin Dobrizhoffer, and the Tyrolean, Anton Sepp, from both of whom Fr Caraman quotes freely.

The illustrations, including some excellent photographs, are well chosen, and the sketch maps at end are useful. Proofreading seems to have gone by default, the text being peppered with irritating misprints and misspellings, which should be corrected before the book goes into a paperback edition and falls into the hands of unwary students.

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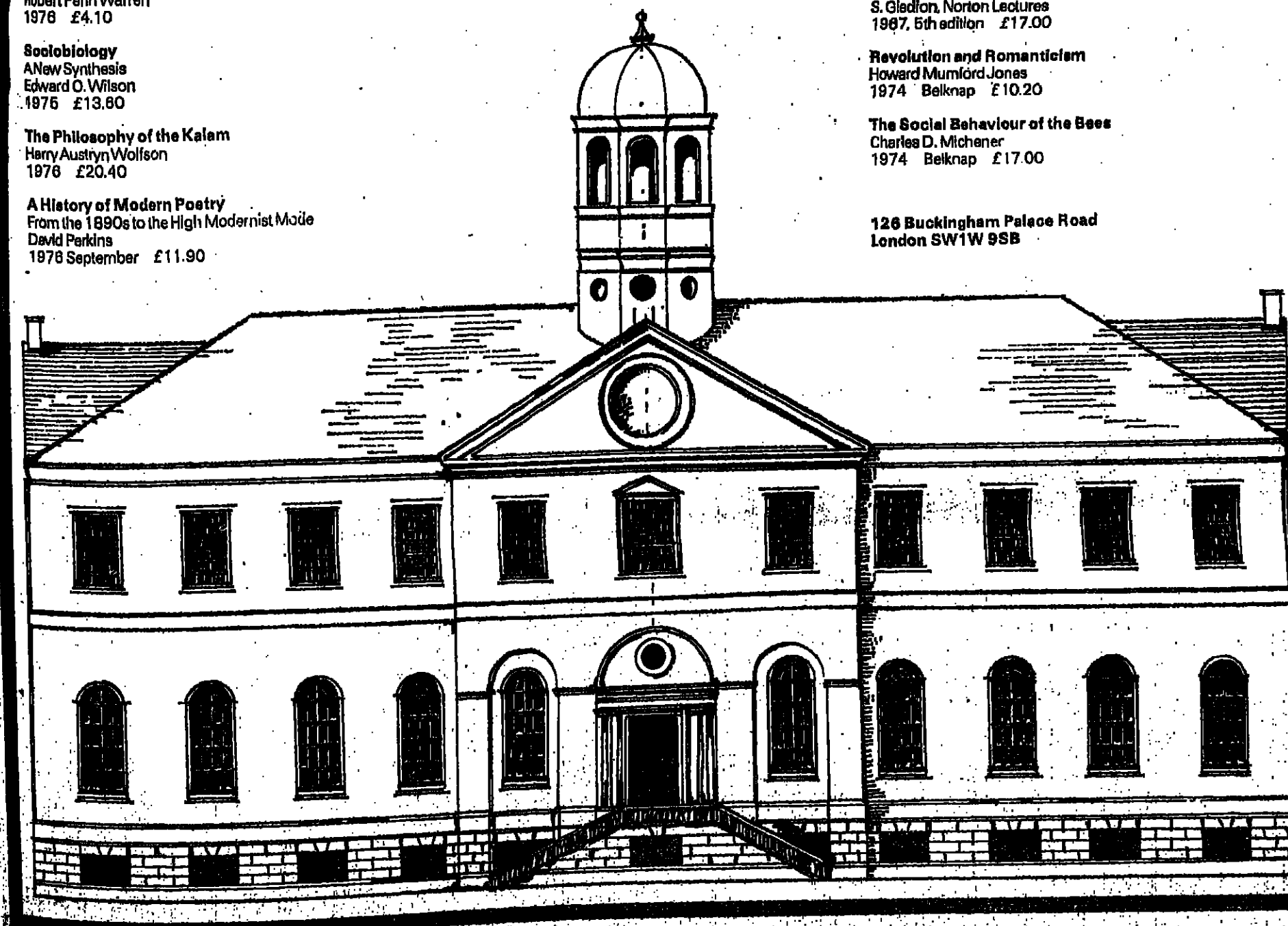
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Poetry and politics

By Claude Rawson

FRANK H. ELLIS (Editor):
Poems on Affairs of State
Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714
Volume VII: 1704-1714
732pp. Yale University Press. £17.50.

GEORGE DEF. LOUD (Editor):
Anthology of Poems on Affairs of State
Augustan Satirical Verse 1660-1714
799pp. Yale University Press. £21
(paperback, £4.20).

With the publication of Volume VII, covering 1704-1714, the Yale Poems on Affairs of State becomes complete. The enterprise was mighty, and the results are handsome. It took twelve years between the first volume and the last, which compares favourably with many another scholarly undertaking (and there can be no editorial projects in which the complexity of the textual materials, and the need for elaborate non-textual annotation, were greater). The years 1660-1714 now exist for the scholar in a new dimension. For no other period is the literary commentary on public events so richly available and so learnedly and conveniently presented.

This is appropriate, because the public events were momentous and the literature about them includes some of the greatest English satires. Literature and life, moreover, existed in a peculiarly intimate relation. Many writers (Marvell, Prior, Defoe, Swift) played an active part, overt or covert, in the affairs of the state. And, in the earlier part of the period especially, when, as the general editor says, "the only newspapers were official government productions and public affairs were held to be almost exclusively the concern of the king in council," poems on political issues and events were an unusually important channel for a more public (if somewhat clandestine) circulation of information and comment.

The period embraces the restoration of Charles II and the reigns of all the later Stuarts; it witnessed the Great Plague and the Fire of London, the passing of the Test Act, the emergence of Whig and Tory, the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, the Revolution of 1688, the battle of the Boyne, the military exploits of Marlborough, the parliamentary union with Scotland, the rise and fall of Harley and Bolingbroke, the Peace of Utrecht, the death of Anne, the Hanoverian succession. The literature, in short, includes only those poems which fall within the scope of the subtitle "Augustan Satirical Verse", in which the satires of Marvell, Dryden, Addison, and Rochester, Garth's *Dispensary*, some powerful early poems by Swift, and most of Defoe's best work in verse.

emerges as a poet unjustly underrated, like Swift, and (different though they are) perhaps for similar reasons: the overshadowing excellence of his achievement in prose, of his achievement in information, of his achievement in the quality of hard-hitting unpolished vigour, a failure to conform with received notions (then and now) of what an Augustan poem should be like. One of the most important achievements of these volumes is that they give us the best annotated (and in some cases the only scholarly) editions of *The True-Born Englishman* and *A Hymn to the Pillory*, as well as of Oldham's *Madness upon the Jesuits* and Garth's *Dispensary*.

These volumes also give us many lesser writings of considerable vitality which are difficult to come by elsewhere. And they provide exceptionally good facilities for studying major poems in their contemporary context, by printing poems which formed the background of, or were written in response to them (for in the case of Marvell's satires, or Dryden's *Abolition* and *Achilles and the Meddler*, by including a variety of works about the same historical event, and by supplying unusually helpful introductory remarks, detailed footnotes, and a rich collection of illustrative states (e.g. *The Medal* of the Shaftesbury medal by Bowers). In this, the Yale Poems on Affairs of State usually goes beyond the standard scholarly editions of individual writers even when the literary commentary is indebted to Kinsley and other earlier editors.

Such inferiority is evident in the first four volumes, where the treatment of Marvell, Rochester and Dryden is naturally superseded by Legouis and Duncan-Jones, by Vieri, and by recent additions to the California Dryden. The commentary on the many Dryden poems in Volumes I to IV is usually less full and also heavily (sometimes embarrassingly) indebted to Kinsley and other earlier editors.

These Yale commentaries do not compete with individual editions, and in a sense do not need to, since the editions themselves exist. But a new standard is set in the later volumes, especially VI and VII, edited by Frank H. Ellis (Volume V happens not to contain poems by major poets who have been separately edited in a scholarly way). The sole Dryden selection in VI is given a substantially fuller commentary than is to be found elsewhere, and the same is even more dramatically true of Mr Ellis's two selections from Volume VII (the Prior poems in Volume IV may be contrasted with this: the commentary is at best marginally fuller in places, and usually less full, than that of Wright and Spenser, to whom it is indebted, and sometimes introducing error, while the earlier editors were accurate).

The great strength of the commentary, throughout the series, is that, in a series of this sort, it ought to be in the detailed provision of historical information, of day-to-day background to the poems, and in the identification of count-ess persons (from minor local officials to major national figures) mentioned in the poems. If the historical material supplied by these literary scholars is as accurate as it is detailed, it contrasts oddly with the recent treatments of the literature of this period by professional historians who, with one or two honourable exceptions, have seemed not only deficient in literary understanding, but deserted by their own professional sense of fact.

Paradoxically, it is on the literary side that the commentaries show obvious weakness. There is a fussy tendency to gloss terms which no reader of these volumes is likely to find difficult (*cits, welkin, merrymendrew, trepan, sharp, Zoonids*), and to register tenuous verbal parallels with other poems, often later than the one being annotated, which would thus throw little light even if they were less tenuous (at VII, 23, 31 and elsewhere, for example, alleged parallels from the *Dunciad* are adduced for a poem of 1704, where the two passages might have a single word like "Throne" in common, a more interesting analogy of Pope's *Stanzas* at VII, 31-32 is, on the other hand, unnoticed, although, ironically, a comment by Lord Horsey himself on the victim of the earlier portrait is cited in the notes).

In some later volumes especially, there are self-indulgent exercises in literary analysis which would be inappropriate in an edition of this sort even if they were better done. At VII, 23 ff., we are given some footling bits of literary evaluation of Defoe's "Scots Poem" (surely a reader can decide whether or not it is a poem, and Defoe's own "Address to the Reader" is omitted. An even grosser example is the five-page preamble to Prior's *Ode, Humbly Inscribed* at VII, 174 ff.

While Prior's own preface is omitted, we are treated to unnecessary tests about how Prior presumably felt something in his soul, and to disquisitions on the fortune of Spenser's reputation and Ben Jonson's view that Spenser "with no language" (the excuse is that Prior adopted a modified Spenserian stanza; an actual quotation from Spenser in the poem itself, page 179 line 10, is unnoticed), on the rhyme scheme (A³ B³ A³ B³ etc), on later re-romanticism and Romanticism (Osian, Collins, Blake, Keats), and so on. The whole is introduced by the remark that Prior's poem "encourages some speculation on the way an English Augustan poet went to work", but that is one thing



"Seated man holding a portfolio": a French drawing of about 1780 by Francois André Vincent, one of the old master drawings to be sold at Christie's on July 6.

we learn little about. Meanwhile, the essential historical background to the poem (its *raison d'être* in the volume) occupies a small fraction of the space.

In both these instances, unnecessary preambles use space that might have been occupied by omitted portions of the primary text (from which the editor, as though adding insult to injury, might offer quotations within the preamble itself or in the commentary). When we remember that the whole series is drastically selective (Volume VII, prints seventy-five poems from over 1,000, and the series as a whole gives less than 15 per cent of the total of 3,700 poems considered), even more disturbing is the fact that this problem arises more acutely in the later volumes, whose annotations on matters which generally need commentary tend to be fuller and better, so that the excesses are the reverse side of a powerful virtue.

The task of selection, irrespective of whether one feels that more poems might have been printed, was clearly very difficult. The respective claims of literary merit, political importance, and influence on opinion, coverage of events, representativeness (of types of poem, of factional points of view, etc) had to

be met, and variations of emphasis occur from volume to volume. The problem of whether to reprint important poems readily available in the collected works of their authors is dealt with inconsistently. Volumes I to IV give *Mac Flecknoe*, both parts of *Abolition* and *Achilles and the Meddler*, as well as writings connected with these by other poets. Volume IV gives material relating to *The Hind and the Panther*, but not the poem itself. The case could be argued either way, but Volume IV is much the next in the series (120 pages fewer than the next shortest, Volume I; 450 pages fewer than the longest, Volume VII), and perhaps the most carefully executed. A register of the poems omitted was to be included in one of the volumes, but the nearest we come to this is that some individual volumes give some first lines of some of the poems not included in that volume. And there is so far no comprehensive index for the series as a whole.

Most of the poems appeared anonymously, often in manuscript only and in more than one manuscript at that. Problems of attribution (not always resolved to the satisfaction of other scholars, notably the case of Marvell, although the treatment of Defoe in Volume VI has received the accolade of J. R. Moore) as well

of textual authenticity were exceptionally acute. The textual history of radical modernization of spelling, punctuation, and other accidents has been controversial since the start. I have no expertise in this field, but I have been most puzzled by those who, like G. K. Leavis, have pointed out, in objections at an early stage, that it is significant that the editor of Volume VII has decided to retain the accidentals of the copy on the grounds that most of the copy texts were printed versions of the original, and thus free of the vagaries of manuscript. The textual apparatus is highly selective and is severely impaired.

Some questionable practices exist in the treatment of partially blanked names and "obscene words". In the former case, the blanks are filled, even though an attribution is controversial; in the latter case, the words are not filled, and does not necessarily differ with the need to refer to a footnote anyway.

For "obscene words", the blanks are not filled; this is right when it reproduces the original, but not (as placed prudently when it does not (a remark in Volume IV implies that the sometimes happens), and practice in this matter appears to have been inconsistent anyway. No doubt variations were inevitable in a project spanning several years and involving six different editors. The judgement remains very impressive.

Turn now to some points of annotation in Volume VII, which, unlike earlier volumes, has not yet received detailed review. On page 9, it seems odd to cite the first edition of *Mac Flecknoe* as 1683, and to call it *The Prince of Abissinia*, when a modern scholarly edition with a chapter-reference would be less pompous and more useful. On page 12, lines 111-2, there is no explanation of how Harley is to be caught out by clapping "No gods to his A[r]ise": the answer partly depends on the association of Harley with martyrdom, meaning that Harley would not go to the stake (in Mr. Ellis's words) "a high church cause". Harley is a high church cause, but the "No gods to his A[r]ise" is a tradition that "the devil" is found to be a (Presbyterian) devil when the faggots are piled up, and perhaps burned with a high flame. Harley was a high church cause, as when Swift's *Blue Devils* were burned with a "blue flame" (see Williams, II, 588).

But there is a more serious problem. Harley is a high church cause, as when Swift's *Blue Devils* were burned with a "blue flame" (see Williams, II, 588). Harley is a high church cause, as when Swift's *Blue Devils* were burned with a "blue flame" (see Williams, II, 588). Harley is a high church cause, as when Swift's *Blue Devils* were burned with a "blue flame" (see Williams, II, 588).

On page 129, the implication that "the devil" is found to be a (Presbyterian) devil when the faggots are piled up, and perhaps burned with a high flame. Harley was a high church cause, as when Swift's *Blue Devils* were burned with a "blue flame" (see Williams, II, 588). Harley is a high church cause, as when Swift's *Blue Devils* were burned with a "blue flame" (see Williams, II, 588).

in citing Pope (and the sentiment is more fully, and rather disparagingly, elaborated in Dryden's "Dis- course Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire", 1683), never 188, "silver Thames", a common formula (with classical prototype), used in *Mac Flecknoe*, line 48, *Rape of the Lock*, II, 4, and elsewhere in Pope, as well as in Spenser, Jonson, and others (it also appeared in V, 285); page 189, the story of Cadmus sowing the teeth of the dragon out of which armed men grew up should probably have been explicitly noted here (the allusion to the story of Tantalus on page 66 is also un glossed, but perhaps more justifiably); page 190, Prior's description of Anne as "our softer King" seems an idiom in the same style as Pope's description of Martha Mount as Heaven's "last best work . . . a softer Man" (combining the virtues of both sexes). On page 215, unnecessary and misleading *vis* is made of the phrase

travelling down, which is a quite remarkable application of a nominal sense of *travelling*; page 241, a gloss for *Terra Incognita* would not be out of place; page 271, lines 879-80 may be intended to recall Milton's "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large"; page 289, the English for Torinus is Turin; page 326, line 37, of Lady Winchelsea, "to my little wit the *Humane* mind"; "Ade- lia's Answer to Euphelia", line 121; pages 393 and 439, most would seem, in addition to the literal suggestion of burning, to be an early example of the meaning "severe or merciless ridicule", otherwise first recorded in 1726 (OED); page 451, "Cloud dispelling Jove" is not just a mock-epic detail, for Zeus normally gathers clouds; but a punning reversal of a specifically English wording of the Homeric formula, "Cloud-compelling Jove" (Dryden, *First Book of Homer's Iliad*, line 544, and *passim* in Pope); page 478, "*Hesperian Pippin*" of Swift,

James, of Williams, I, 154, line 156; page 554 "*Putable Gold*", a medicinal and alchemical term, *mirum putabile*, e.g. 2 *Henry IV*, IV, v, 161-2 and *Paradise Lost*, III, 108 etc; page 557, lines 58-60, the "just" about Thomas à Kempis, Defoe's *True-Born Englishman*, and other important poems not easily accessible.

Some material which would have given the volume particular usefulness in favour, I believe, of lesser things: *Satires upon the Jesuits*, *The Dispensary* (although Blackmore's *Satire Against Wit*, purely an answer to *The Dispensary*, is included), *A Hymn to the Pillory*. One could argue endlessly about points of selection, but these seem glaring examples. There are quite a few misprints and minor errors (pages 177, 219, 445, 491, 516, 534, 607). But on the whole this is an excellent anthology, and at £4.20 quite remarkable value for money in its paperback form.

It is all on a far more modest level, of course, in scope and execution, and some of the details are decidedly bizarre. The role of Dante's Virgil in the *Corbaccio* by the dead husband of the widow who has spurned the protagonist: who better than he to reveal to the rejected lover all the faults of the lady and to show further that these are characteristic of her sex?

The confused and contradictory emotional stances of the work, convincingly analysed by the translator in his introduction, make strange comparison with the moral and intellectual rigour and consistency of the book in its own vindictive and too vindictive tone to reconcile with its ostensible moral aim: it is all too eager to insist that the lady can expect her comeuppance ("She is to be stung by her shearer's god"), and a point made more than once—that the protagonist's sexual potency is unimpaired in spite of his forty-plus years.

Whether the book marks a strict religious conversion, as has sometimes been maintained, is impossible to establish, but it is difficult to doubt that it marked a major personal and artistic crisis. That the *Corbaccio* signals a definitive abandonment of fiction on Boccaccio's part—and that the last twenty years of his life were devoted exclusively to scholarly and editorial activities (many of them directly involving the work of his literary hero, Dante) is surely significant. The work cannot be wholly divorced from the life. Mr. Caselli offers a healthy corrective to the naïvely autobiographical approach, but he overstates the contrary case.

The comparison with Dante is not an arbitrary ploy. Mr. Caselli rejects in passing the view, often advanced, that the *Corbaccio* is modelled on the *Comedy*. What the two works share, he argues, is the work of their common origin in the dream-vision tradition. But the text presses a theme of verbal parallelism to Dante's poem (Mr. Caselli dismisses these as "natural to a writer imbued with the language of the *Comedy*"), and it is impos-

sible not to be continuously aware as one reads that the experience Boccaccio is describing is offered as some kind of parallel to the experience described in the *Comedy*.

The misogynist's manifesto

By Prue Shaw

G. BOCCACCIO
The *Corbaccio*
Translated and edited by Anthony K. Caselli
194pp. University of Illinois Press, (AUPG), £4.80.

Boccaccio's *Corbaccio* is a curious work. Written in all probability immediately after the *Decamerone*, it was certainly his last work of fiction and it seems to have been written in a state of mind that was most original and moving in his masterpiece. Instead of a profound sympathy for women and a humane championing of female sexuality, we have a virulent anti-feminist diatribe, ardent, humourless, and at times near-hysterical.

The *Decamerone* had drawn freely on the anti-feminist tradition: the lustful nun and the deceitful wife are recurring figures in the tales. But there Boccaccio exploited the comic possibilities of the theme, whereas in *Corbaccio* he takes it to a new level of earnestness. The author was delighted by the artistic potential of the misogynist tradition without subscribing to it completely. The *Corbaccio* is not only a diatribe against women, but a denunciation of woman's lust and greed, it also seems to be in deadly earnest.

The traditional explanation for this apparent shift in attitude is that the work is autobiographical. Boccaccio, so the theory goes, enraged by the behaviour of a widow who was indifferent to his attentions, took revenge by writing a work which attacked her personally and more generally showed the imperfections of womanhood and the futility of sexual love. The rejection ranked, the book attempted to settle the score.

Anthony Caselli, in this ably translated and scrupulously annotated version of the text (the first edition to appear in English), is at pains to discredit the autobiographical interpretation. He rightly insists that the work is heavily dependent on the twin medieval literary conventions of the dream-vision and the *Comedia*. The dream-vision gave a pre-established pattern and shape to the narrative, the pattern being that of a moment of crisis and moral error resolved by supernatural intervention in the form of a spiritual guide sent to the sinner in a dream to instruct him in the error of his ways. Here the sin is lust, the corrective a long disquisition on the vanity of sexual entertainments.

The anti-feminist matter with which this theme is fleshed out is largely derivative from classical and medieval sources. Boccaccio collected anti-feminist quotations in his commonplace book, the *libellus laurenziano*, and drew on them in composing the *Corbaccio*, although on occasion he outdoes his sources in savagery. On the lady's sagging breasts, for example:

"They—whatever the cause may be, either because they were pulled too much by others, or because the own excess weight stretched them—are so beyond measure lengthened, and dislocated from their natural position that perhaps (or rather, without doubt) if she let them droop, they would reach her navel, empty and wrinkled like a deflated bladder; and certainly if things such as these, like the hoods they wear in Paris, were in vogue in Florence, to be fashionable she could not wear her shoulders & a *frangia*."

So in both structure and content the *Corbaccio* is far from original.

But to recognize the importance of the dream-vision and anti-feminist conventions in the *Corbaccio* is not necessarily to exclude the possibility of any connection with the author's life. An autobiographical genesis and a dependence on literary convention are not opposed absolutes. If the *Corbaccio* had been a mere literary exercise, it would not have had the disturbing characteristics that it does have.

The book is disturbing, and this is not so much because of the violence of its denunciation of female sin as because of the sense that the author is out of control. There is a disequilibrium, artistic and moral, which suggests a fatal lack of detachment on Boccaccio's part. Mr. Caselli acknowledges the disequilibrium, but refuses to accept that there might be any biographical connection—for him the work is simply "a literary artefact lacking the usual delicate artistry of its author".

He seems to think Boccaccio's own dissatisfaction with the work—a contemporary records that he despised it—is proof that it could not have been very important to him. But surely one could draw precisely the contrary inference. Boccaccio may well have despised the work as a literary failure, which undoubtedly it is, and he may well have despised it all the more because it so patently failed to do justice to the theme of personal crisis, the turning-point in a life, which was so monumentally tackled in the *Divine Comedy*.

The comparison with Dante is not an arbitrary ploy. Mr. Caselli rejects in passing the view, often advanced, that the *Corbaccio* is modelled on the *Comedy*. What the two works share, he argues, is the work of their common origin in the dream-vision tradition. But the text presses a theme of verbal parallelism to Dante's poem (Mr. Caselli dismisses these as "natural to a writer imbued with the language of the *Comedy*"), and it is impos-

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The taxman's testimony

By Peter Linehan

ROBERT IGNATIUS BURNS, Jr.: *Medieval Colonialism: Postconquest Exploitation of Islamic Valencia.* 391pp. Princeton University Press. £12.50.

Remarkably soon after the publication of his *Islam under the Crusaders* (reviewed in TLS, January 17, 1975) Robert Ignatius Burns returns to his explication of the facts of life in the post-conquest kingdom of Valencia. In *Medieval Colonialism* the dying or at least traumatically transculturating Islamic society is viewed as it is "reflected in the tax system and its substructure." Such a survey doubtless had to be made, but although the author frequently laments the incompleteness of his evidence, it will not need to be made again. Taken next, taxation material is far from hoary stuff. In his earlier book Professor Burns promised some "homely glimpses of Muslim life in this and the further volume in preparation. Here, it must be said, few glimpses have been made. Of course, because they were taxed for doing so, we encounter men and women eating, drinking, bathing and so on, but we are not permitted to contemplate the scene before being hurried on to confront the next set of data. The book's title may deceive the unwary. Medieval colonialism is here viewed exclusively in terms of taxation, of that multiplicity of small facts that research seems never to exhaust."

Professor Burns's conclusions confirm what he has already taught us, that Muslim social organization survived virtually unscathed till at least the end of the thirteenth century. There could be no question of the Christian reconquest imposing a uniform new order. "Too vast a land had been captured, at a time when opportunity beckoned in too many other quarters for the men of Catalonia, King James's plan for a single currency for the conquered kingdom remained a dead letter. To the conquerors of existing taxes he added his own levies. Yet the subject Muslim majority was probably better off after the conquest than before. The Valencian Muslim stayed on as a guest in his own home." In this "Disneyland realm of his father's world," this "curiously shielded land," the city-dwellers in their "enclaves of residence" and the rural masses appear to have been relatively undisturbed and not markedly more heavily put upon by the permanently imperious monarchs than was the Christian minority. Only occasionally, and in the case of the ecclesiastical elite, are there signs of the underlying social tensions. The taxation of crops, especially oppressive labor services, is shown to be negligible during the thirteenth century. A mass of material is assembled from the Crown Archive at Barcelona, and from the numerous local collections of which the author has privileged knowledge, to show how regularly the local aljama or *mita* formed or unformed, for a percentage, the collection of the king's taxes.

Professor Burns has an interesting section on the activity of the Jews in government during the thirteenth century, an activity unparalleled in previous European history. As between Christians and Muslims, the Jews were in a more favorable position. The author's conclusion is that the melting of both societies, in activities from financing down to collecting, illustrates how taxes became a bond, not only at the top, but at multiple intermediate points, across the world of benevolent colonialism surveyed in the earlier volume. This all but fabulously printed monument of scholarship leaves very few loose ends trailing, although it is surely unnecessary to state that "investigations into whether systems do not illuminate very much the idiosyncratic Spanish experience," thereby overloading the already heavy weight of footnotes with references to standards of authority on the English and Flemish situations. Nor is the assertion that "in his struggle to rise from feudal servitude to Roman law" (Burns) a qualified Valencia aljama "readily" (Burns) "accepted" the new system of taxation, a footnote that "most scholars" have

and which Professor Burns records in the course of this book.

"No matter how infrequent or trivial," the author states, "any tax can illuminate the daily life of its supporters." At times one wonders the jungle of detail, seizes willingly upon his momentary scepticism: "Money talks, but its conversational range is limited." Professor Burns's abiding belief that fiscal documentation "eyesdrops" where other records disdain to go "raises expectations that are too rarely satisfied. All the cogs of the machine are lovingly scrutinized. Not a single scrap of evidence is wasted. In a social history, we are told, "technical rigor must yield to larger purpose, and logic to art." Yet an understanding of the larger purpose has to be sought in Professor Burns's other writings. True, the author's task is made the more difficult by the terminological uncertainties by which his subject is bedevilled. Study of the *petit*, for example, is to be sought in Professor Burns's earlier work, or in the *petit* of other writers. 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Harnessing the ancients

By Hugh Lloyd-Jones

R. R. BOU-GAR (Editor)
Classical Influences on European Culture
An 1800-1700
Proceedings of a Conference held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1974.
Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Whatever one may feel about the publication of the acts of learned conferences, the 1500-1700 volume of *Classical Influences on European Culture*, like its predecessor relating to the period 500-1500, contains some excellent contributions, which together with full bibliographies and admirable indexes make a valuable book. In the past many scholars dealing with this subject have had a purely classical training, and have tended to value humanistic literature only for the classical elements that it preserves. For many years now it has been generally recognized that this is unwarranted; it is infinitely more interesting to see how the Renaissance writer or artist has seen the classical material at his disposal, and how he has combined it with other elements to create a new product suited to his own requirements. A good knowledge of the classics is necessary for the effective pursuit of Renaissance studies; but the classical scholar who engages in them must know and understand as much of the Renaissance atmosphere as he can, just as the Renaissance scholar will find it helpful to learn all he can of the classics and the mode of their transmission. The greatest living authority in this field, Rudolf Pfeiffer (astonishingly not mentioned in this book) is a classical scholar of great eminence; but he values the age of the humanists for the own sake, and is intimately acquainted with its history and its culture.

What emerges clearly from these essays, as from all the best modern work on this subject, is that the use made of the classics by the humanists of this age was above all else a creative one. Few of the men were in any significant degree pure aesthetes; most of them were Christians and most of them used ancient literature and art to set upon the modern world. This is most evident in the case of the many who studied ancient works for their scientific or technological content. Medicine, mathematics and astronomy, law and government, art and architecture are familiar instances; all the sciences are represented. One of the most informative papers of G. Oestreich that between 1490 and 1597/98 there appeared no less than 660 editions of Greek, sixteen of them containing the complete works. Most of these were translations, used by doctors simply because better medical textbooks were not then available. Less widely known is the regular use of ancient works in agriculture, mining, natural history and various branches of technology. The elder Pliny, whose vast encyclopedia in thirty-seven books appeared in forty-six editions before 1550, was valued far more for his content than his style.

Since the humanists of this age were practical, they needed also to be independent. C. Vasoli shows how they advanced from criticizing their contemporaries for their intolerance of the ancients to sometimes using the ancients as standards, but sometimes by those of the new culture which they themselves had created. J.-C. Margolin shows how Vitruvius' treatise on architecture, criticized by Plato and Aristotle in the middle Platonism or Aristotelianism, H. Weber shows how Rodin made a skillful use of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* in constructing a new and independent political theory designed to justify the absolute monarchy of his own nation. H. Dörrie shows how Lucian came to be criticized in the age of the humanists for the name of those ancient philosophers who held that poetry should be simple, truthful and conformable to nature. N. Dachs demonstrates the independent use made of Nero's Golden Age by Raphael in the designing of his Loggia. Finally, G. Oestreich continues the reflections on the impact made upon succeeding ages

by the Platonism begun in the proceedings of the earlier conference, gives further evidence for the mixture of respect and independence shown by Renaissance scholars in their dealings with the ancient masters.

No new idea put forward in the volume is more intriguing than Sir Anthony Blunt's suggestion that Bramante derived his inspiration for the tower of St. George and the Palazzo Spada from the drawings of the Milanese architect Montauus (1534-1621) purporting to show reconstructions of ancient works which are in Sir John Soane's museum. Sir Anthony's justification of Blunt's plea that he was not, as his enemies claimed, a destroyer of classical principles, but their upholder.

The practicality of the humanists is nowhere more evident than in the sphere of religion. Most humanists were Christians, and many used their humanism to purify and to intensify their Christianity. From their different points of view (Pfeiffer and R. K. Roper have both argued that Erasmus was above all else a Christian writer, setting far greater store on his work on the Bible and the Fathers than on his study of the classics, and hoping to reform the Church by means of a *philosophia Christi* based on the renewed investigation of its own early history. E. P. Rice and A. H. T. Lovi provide evidence for this view, and J. B. Trapp second it by drawing attention to the great quantity of biblical exegesis written, though left unpublished, by Erasmus's close friend John Colet. Professor Lovi is right in saying that there is something in common between the purposes of Erasmus and those of Ignatius de Loyola; Calvin too started his career as an Erasmus humanist; yet how great a difference in tone separates the great humanist from the Calvinist, the latter's Reformation period on both sides.

This volume contains very little about anti-Christian elements in the culture of the period; but it contains a remarkable paper by R. H. Popkin, the historian of scepticism, about the movement called Prodomianism during the Middle Ages. Popkin's doctrine that all moderns descended from Adam had given rise to doubts, and the discovery of America lost those doubts now substance. During the sixteenth century, La Perrière, a Frenchman, conceived the idea of a new religion, combined with the French nationalism, Messianism, a theory of human origins which made some pertinent criticisms of received doctrine. La Perrière was allowed by religious orthodoxy, but Spinoza, Bayle and Voltaire did not fall to note his arguments.

The Latin literature of this period, hardly less than the vernacular literature, at its best shows an independence which lifts it high above the level of slavish imitation. Such work cannot be neglected in the work of the humanists, and the neglect of the classics shown by Renaissance scholars in the past. This injustice is now beginning to be remedied, though as several contributors point out the lack of adequate texts, catalogues and other aids is a serious handicap. John Sparrow sets out the plan of the mythology of neo-Latin verse which he is preparing for the *Cambridge Companion to the Latin Poetry of the Renaissance*. Ruby did for the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages.

Few have done more to show what opportunities some of this poetry offers to a scholar properly equipped to study it than Michael Ludwig in his edition of the *Strophilium* of Joannes Harmonius Marston and the *Michaelida* of Zilfollus de Ferrara; and Professor Ludwig contributes to this book a most attractive study of the sixteenth-century German poet, Petrus Lotichius Secundus, whose beautiful poetry describing how he returned to his home, Regensburg, to find the city destroyed by war is a fine specimen of the kind of work the new anthology will make available. A few sketches of the history of neo-Latin satire, a field in which everything remains to be done.

even in this preoccupation their practicality is apparent. Men like Erasmus and Valla cared about style not merely for aesthetic reasons, but because they wished to improve the clarity of thinking together with the clarity of writing, and to eliminate the muddled argument together with the profuse verbiage of the later Middle Ages. The Ciceronianism of the early Italians had come to a point where it was substituting one kind of empty verbiage for another: it had, therefore, to be got out of the way. Lisa Jardine stresses the importance of Valla's exposition of dialectic, by which he meant a kind of argumentation based on the enthymeme as well as the syllogism and better suited to the needs of literature and life than the barren pedantries of scholastic formal logic.

Rudolph Agricola developed the subject further, and Charles Harvey made it the basis of his Cambridge teaching. Quintilian was an important author in this connection. In a general way W. S. Howell is right in reiterating his argument of twenty years ago that rhetoric, logic and poetics were in this age distinct and developed each in its own separate literature; although in practice they shade into one another too often for this formula in its simplest form to be quite adequate.

Very typical of our own time is the devotion of a large amount of space to the collections of commonplaces which were so widely used during the period the volume covers. Ravius Textor's vast collection of opinions, first published in 1588 and recently reprinted until 1964, is dealt with in two articles, an elegant one by J. D. McFarlane and an informative one by Walter J. Ong. The commonplaces belong to a tradition which goes back to antiquity; Fr. Ong somewhat underestimates the prevalence of rhetoric and gnomologies at that time, as a glance at Henry Chadwick's introduction to his edition of the *Sententiae of Seneca* or at J. W. B. Barns's account of ancient gnomologies will show.

Their ultimate origins may well be found in oral culture; but the highly literary and the curious framework derived from that master Marshall McLuhan with which Fr. Ong surrounds this treatment of the topic seems, to me not particularly helpful. But it is useful to the scholar to be able to recognize the sources of such work as M. A. Screech and D. Coleman both remind us. For instance, Du Bellay in Sonnet 140 writes:

Aymos donques (Ronsard) comme pouvant haïr:
Hais donques (Ronsard) comme pouvant aimer.

Professor Screech thinks Du Bellay took the sentiment from the Roman

mime-writer Publilius Syrus, who wrote: "Ita mimici habemus, ut fieri hunc inimicum posset." Du Bellay studied Sophocles in the original with the best teachers, and Sophocles's play named after him are very close to his: "I am only aware that one must hate an enemy as one who in time may be a friend, and thus I shall be willing to help a friend only while remembering the he may not be a friend for ever." It is worth knowing that Du Bellay probably took the notion from the greater author than Publilius Syrus.

In general there is far less in a book about Greek, except for the two or three lines about Latin. This is partly due to the nature of the facts. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, most Europeans saw the Greeks through Roman spectacles; not before then was there a really large public able to read Greek in the original.

But sixteenth-century France made a tremendous advance in Greek studies; its humanists, knowing that they could hardly hope to rival the Italians in Latin, set out to master Greek, which despite the advances of the isolated genius of the field. This book says little about Turpinus, Auratus and Lambinus, the two great teachers of the poets of the Pléiade with the scholars of their time; it says little about J. L. Scaliger and Casaubon, who Dr. B. O. seems to imagine were important chiefly for what they did for textual criticism. Apart from the virtual discovery of the ancient Latin writers and all his other purely classical achievements, the younger Scaliger, combined with classical learning a knowledge of oriental languages and of science and mathematics that enabled him to make a contribution to modern studies whose importance extends far beyond the confines of ancient history. But the volume would have done better justice to Greek studies if it had been persuaded to let contain his study of Janus Pannius, whose devotion to Greek led him to espouse the ugly daughter of Demetrius Chalcondyles and whose commentary of Claudius's poem on the rape of Proserpine displays much Greek learning.

In his introduction to the earlier collection Dr. B. O. writes that the achievements in textual criticism of Bentley, Lachmann and Wilamowitz "belong to an age when classical writings had ceased to make a man's intellectual growth." The achievements in Greek literature and philosophy made no important contribution to intellectual growth in the age of Goethe? or in that of Nietzsche? or now?

Hellenic heyday

By John Roberts

G. L. HAMMOND:
The Classical Age of Greece
200p. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
1975.

This handsome book covers the history of Greece from about 800 to 400, the years in which Philip II of Macedon was assassinated and the Classical Age of Greece. "Classical" is a word which is distinguished from "Hellenic" and the first seventy-two pages are devoted to what would commonly be regarded as the Classical Age.

An enormous amount happened in the hundreds of years or less of the Classical Age of Greece. The history of the four and a half centuries in question. Even after the emergence of such unifying bodies as the Spartan Alliance, the Greek League, formed in 481 to resist the Persian invasion, and the Athenian League, formed in 478/7 to carry on the war with Persia, the task of the narrative historian remains difficult.

As in N. G. L. Hammond's *A History of Greece to 322 BC* (second edition, 1967), dividing lines are shown at 496, 404 and 322. The fall of the Lydian empire and the fall of the Persian king Cyrus, which brought to an end the twenty-year Peloponnesian War, were epochal events, but what happened in 465, or thereabouts?

Professor Hammond's answer is that Greece in general and Athens in particular were under constant external pressures. Neither Persia nor Carthage threatened, still less Rome. The Greek states were to an unusual extent free to decide their own futures. Once to every man a land, and to every man a sea, the Greeks were free to decide their own futures. In Athens, Ephialtes and Pericles began to subvert the moderate democracy of Cleisthenes by procuring members of the assembly for abuse of office. Cleisthenes was able to strip the assembly of its political powers and bring in radical democracy. With the assassination of Ephialtes and the assassination of Cleisthenes, the moderate democracy of Athens opened, leading from 461 to the death of Pericles in 429. (Actually, Pericles, though prominent from 461, was not dominant until the ostracism of Cleisthenes son of Melesias in about 445.)

These political and constitutional changes were matched by changes in foreign policy. Instead of following up Cleisthenes's victory over the Persian fleet and the Persian philosophy made no important contribution to intellectual growth in the age of Goethe? or in that of Nietzsche? or now?

than gain (though this last victory yielded enough booty to pay for the south wall of the Acropolis). "turned upon one of the most powerful of her allies" the island of Thasos. Although Cimon was still the leading man in Athens and commanded the expedition sent against Thasos, Professor Hammond believes that from this point Athens' international behaviour began to deteriorate.

Thucydides, though willing enough to pass moral judgments on the behaviour of individuals, is disinclined to pass such judgments on the behaviour of states with state. (Regardless of his personal sympathies, he would have been astonished if Russia had not intervened to suppress Dubcek in 1968.) He does say that, earlier in the history of the Alliance, Naxos had been the first community to enslaved contrary to custom. But even that language, though strong, is not necessarily condemnatory, and his account of the bones of contention between Athens and Thasos—the Thasian-controlled trading stations and mine on the opposite coast of Thasos—is strictly factual. Thucydides doubtless knew the whole story; we do not. The truth is that a coherent history of the Athenian empire, as opposed to an orderly presentation of what is known about it, cannot be written. Mainly thanks to Thucydides, we can construct an outline of events from 478 to 432, but many fundamental questions about the formation and transformation of the Alliance must remain unanswered. Consequently, we are in no position to do what Thucydides does not attempt to do—pass moral judgments on the international behaviour of Athens in the 460s and thereafter.

There are, however, many interesting things that we can write about, and Professor Hammond does write about more of them than most other writers. He writes about the "decade" in Athens, Ephialtes and Pericles began to subvert the moderate democracy of Cleisthenes by procuring members of the assembly for abuse of office. Cleisthenes was able to strip the assembly of its political powers and bring in radical democracy. With the assassination of Ephialtes and the assassination of Cleisthenes, the moderate democracy of Athens opened, leading from 461 to the death of Pericles in 429. (Actually, Pericles, though prominent from 461, was not dominant until the ostracism of Cleisthenes son of Melesias in about 445.)

All these things are at least touched on in the text, and references to them in the index would probably be of more help to the general reader, whom Professor Hammond presumably has in mind, than references to Kipling or the United States. Such a reader may not know that Gallipoli and the Thracian Chersonese are one and the same, but that is not the point. The same, but the map of the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea will not enlighten him. Nor will it enable him to locate some other important places that are inevitably

mentioned more than once in the text, such as Ephesus, Miletus, Phocaea and Sardis. (The other maps are almost too informative.)

The general reader will always need to consult books describing the experiences and achievements of the Greeks in this period, and such books should be, in the best sense of the word, historical—grounding the "cultural" achievements in their geographical, economic, technical, social, moral, legal, political, military and religious setting. But for several reasons, a narrative approach may not be the best. Even Professor Hammond finds himself, in the interests of art, describing the destruction of Melos by Athens in 416 thirty-one pages before the Spartan destruction of Plataea in 427. Somehow, without exaggerating their importance at the time, the historian must convey the feel of those aspects of Greek history that give it its distinctive flavour and lasting interest—the Homeric epic and the heroic outlook, the alphabet and literacy, coinage, constitutional government and democracy, the Doric and Ionic orders of architecture, tragedy and comedy, vase-painting, history and philosophy. Hardest of all to convey, in post-Protestant England, is the feel of Greek polytheism.

According to Callicles in Plato's *Gorgias*, the strong man who deserves to rule is shrewd and courageous, and certainly shrewdness and courage are important virtues. Professor Hammond writes: "The distinctive quality of the Greek of the classical world vis-à-vis all other men was his combination of courage and intelligence. His courage was moral as well as physical, the courage to carry his convictions to their logical conclusions, as exemplified for instance in the lawgivers Lycurgus, Solon and Pericles and in the imagined characters of Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus. Well-founded generalizations about the Greeks are one of the historian's objectives, but, waving the question which side of the real/imaginary line Lycurgus belongs, we may surely say that most of his dozen exceptional figures (Sophoclean tragedy required exceptional figures) does not suffice to establish that the Greeks of the time were distinguished by moral courage. On the contrary, there is much evidence to show that most Greeks were remarkably sensitive to public opinion. This is but one example of a prevalent quality about which far more can be said than about Athens and Thasos."

The *Classical Age of Greece* contains much accurate information, but from a volume in the History of Civilization series, one might have expected rather more civilization and rather less history, in the narrow sense of the word. The publishers may have felt that in the first volume of the series, *The Greek Experience*, Sir Maurice Bowra had said enough about, for example, the heroic outlook, but no reference to that valuable synthesis is made in the later volume. That Philias— together with Sophocles, the preeminent representative of the classical in art—should not be mentioned till the last chapter is strange.

There are helpful accounts of kinship and class in Athens, but some surprising omissions are included, such as that no merit came to Athens as a member of Solon's lowest census-class (did no merit row in the fleet?), and that Cleop was a member of the common people.

The six pages of notes consist mainly of references to passages in Greek authors, but a few are generalizations. It would surely have been worth saying, for a start, that most of our literary evidence is provided by upper-class men, some writing with a conscious audience in mind and some not. One may find in mind any entry as: "Suidas a.v. *khōris hippēis*." And there are things to be said for the appearance of "in studies" in the index. "Hans" has both "Rome" and "Rome" on different pages.

There are sixteen pages of plates, and a list of the periodicals examined; the final issue of each annual volume contains a cumulative subject index and an author index.

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